Report No Dap-022

FORWARD

This report is the final document on the research efforts completed to date in relation to Centuries Research,Inc.'s participation in the Dolores Archaeological Project. In this capacity the report gives a glimpse of the ultiamte goals which were held by the writers at the start of the project. When we began our work it was with the belief that we had a part-time performance period of four years, an accepted research design providing for a major cross-disciplinary research effort, plus adequate funding of approximately 10 per cent of yearly project budget. It was from such a perspective that a project was slowly geared up, and the wheels of research begun to turn so that a multi-faceted research program was put into operation. This program was structured around a series of "tasks" outlined in the research design (Baker 1978d) which would provide the building blocks of research data and meet the performance schedules required by the Bureau of Reclamation's construction program. It was believed that the performance period necessary for meaningful historical scholarship was availabe within the practical constraints of the construction schedule. In this regard, Smith began production of a series of prioritized historical reports and Baker undertook historical archaeological studies and detailed historical research on homesteading, agriculture, and settlement patterns in the project area. The end goal was for both authors to collaborate and produce a major synthesis of the cultural patterns and their evolution which attended the Euro-American occupation of the Dolores area. It was the intention of the investigators to do a "hard core" historical study which would put flesh on the bones of the local history and substance into the subject of management and mitigation of historic Euro-American cultural resources.

Throughout the design and implementation of the program the realities of funding and research priorities were realized. A conscious attempt was made during the program to avoid "making mountains out of any molehills" in the resource base and to present balanced and realistic recommendations on mitigtion needs. One philosopy was rigidly adherred to from the start, however. This is the belief that the study of the Euro-American settlement of the United States (the history of our own people) is every bit as valuable and worthwhile as prehistoric studies. One need not blow such a belief out of proportion in order to stress the need for hard scientific research into American pioneering history. It was also strongly believed that the multi-faceted research necessary to meaningfully investigate the Euro-American occuptional record unit by unit is every bit, if often times not more, time-consuming, difficult and expensive as prehistoric studies.

The historic cultural resources of the Dolores Project area are not, for the most part, overly important when compared to such resources in other parts of the country. Some of them are clearly, however, of local and state significance in explicating the history and cultural traditions of the American people. The prehistoric resource base in the Dolores Project area is unquestionably of great importance and should certainly receive the major mitigation effort. It should not, however, totally overshadow the historical resources, mundane as they sometimes are.

It is with these thoughts in mind that we acknowledge the privilege of having been responsible for initiating a program that should, in keeping with the original task sequence, become a major testament to the role of historical studies in cultural resource management. We are indebted to the Bureau of Reclamation and the University of Colorado for being allowed to participate up to this point. We must stress, however, that our work is only a start and is not herein offered as a whole and final product or believed to be adequate for ultimately answering the needs of the historical resources of the Dolores Project area. A great deal of historical research still needs to be done and we have herein made our recommendations as to what we feel this must include. We still feel that a very meaningful historical study and mitigation program can be brought to completion without detracting from the contribution potential of the prehistoric studies.

We do not know what form the historical studies program will take from this point on. We must stress our awareness that the present report is spotty and has several voids which should not be present in a final research document. Circumstances beyond our control have prevented us from attaining our goals and we now pass the project on to our successors, whomever they may be.

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ABSTRACT

This report summarizes the results obtained in the first year of historical studies on the Dolores Archaeological Program in Montezuma and Dolores counties in southwestern Colorado. The investigations were performed by Centuries Research, Inc., of Montrose, Colorado, under terms of a subcontract with the University of Colorado. This report presents two introductory historical research reports on the documentary history of the area by Duane Smith and the results of Steven Baker's historic site inventory and evaluation and initial studies of the homesteading traditions in the Dolores region. The results of these efforts are framed in terms of both the research design which has guided efforts to date and the history and progress of the first year's program. Recommendations on site significance and further research needs are made.

An intensive archaeological survey inventoried 12 historic sites in the approximately 2,000 acres of the first-year impact areas. In addition to these resources, two additional sites were entered into the historic site inventory and recorded in a preliminary manner. These were the townsites of Big Bend (5MT4572) and McPhee (5MT4571). The other historic sites are mostly agricultural homesteads. These homesteads represent four different homesteading periods that date as early as the 1800s and as late as the 1950s. All together these sites constitute part of an important resource base for historical archaeological studies of the history and evolution of the American homesteading tradition in western Colorado. This resource base will undoubtedly be expanded during future survey efforts and should become a particularly powerful data base for the study of homesteading in the marginal agricultural environments of western Colorado. For these reasons it is herein recommended that the Anasazi Archaeological District be amended to include historical Euro-American resources as well as aboriginal ones. As will be discussed, there are particular advantages for cultural resource management and scientific inquiry in such an approach.

PART 1
STUDY DESCRIPTION

Study Introduction and History

In June of 1978, Centuries Research, Inc., of Montrose, Colorado, was retained by the University of Colorado as the subcontractor for historical studies on the Bureau of Reclamation's Dolores Project in Montezuma and Dolores Counties, Colorado (Figs. 1-2). The research proposal was submitted to the Bureau as a portion of the University's comprehensive proposal in April and Centuries' fixed-price subcontract was signed in July of 1978. This writer, Steven G. Baker, serves Centuries as Principal Investigator for Historical Studies and prepared the research design and directed the historical work on the Dolores Project.

Fieldwork commenced in July according to the schedule stipulated by the Bureau of Reclamation. That schedule, combined with the "task" sequence outlined in the subcontract proposal, was strictly adhered to until November when it became apparent that a combination of inventory results, administrative and review scheduling, and weather would preclude a fall mitigation effort. Changes in the first year scope-of-work subsequently became necessary particularly in regard to a reduced need and capability for historical archaeology and an increased need for historical research and writing in effecting evaluations and mitigtion plans. In February 1979, Centuries unsuccessfully requested a change in fund allocations from historical archaeological fieldwork to historical research which would help to expedite the 1979 fieldwork needs.

An intensive review of all aspects of the program had been initiated in November of 1978 and in January a special review meeting was held at the Bureau Office in Dolores at the request of the SHPO and suggestion of the Bureau (Webber 1978). As a result of that meeting the Bureau decided to require a fieldwork report on the partial time efforts of the first six months of the first-year performance period (Madden 1979). This report was then to be reviewed and a detailed recommendation for historic mitigation in the first-year impact areas was to be prepared by the Bureau's archaeologists for submission to the SHPO and Advisory Council (Madden 1979). As a result of the review, the requested changes in fund allocations were refused and the Contractor informed Centuries that no further expenditures from within the original budget would be allowed for the historical studies program (Breternitz 1979a). It is from this background that the present report has been produced.

Although termed a field report for administrative purposes, the draft of this report was requested two months ahead of the rest of the project field reports which were not due until April 1, 1979. It is in essence a "final report" as envisioned by the Bureau's Regional Archaeologist in January (Madden 1979). Such a report was provided to the Contractor and the Bureau on February 1, 1979, and review comments were submitted back to the Contractor on about March 27. This report thus constitutes the field report for the 1979 field season. It does not, however, include much of the historical data originally provided for in the author's research design since funds for the spring research program were not available. Centuries was informed (Breternitz 1979b) in April that its subcontract with the Contractor would not be renewed for a second year and that the historical program would be conducted as an in-house operation under the direct supervision of Contractor personnel. Thus, in addition to being a field report, this report will be Centuries' final report on historical studies for the Dolores project. As such, it summarizes a part-time performance period lasting less than six months; and an expenditure less than budgeted, much of which was spent in administration and other costs associated with the review.

Because of the shortened performance period, the first year tasks proposed in the author's original research design have only partially been completed and this report should not be viewed as a full report on all the tasks originally proposed or undertaken. It is simply an attempt to report on what had been accomplished at the time work was suspended. When this project was begun the program schedule allowed four years for historical studies with final synthesis and publication not scheduled until Year 4 or 1981 (U.S. Bureau of Reclamation 1978: Fig. 2). The work reported on here is, therefore, but a small start in what should remain a detailed and long-term historical program.

Scope-of-Work, Research Design, Methodology, and Progress

The scope-of-work for the first year of the historical studies program consisted of the following items:

8.1.4. Historical Fieldwork

8.1.4.1. Survey and Evaluation - The Contractor will conduct an intensive survey and evaluation in terms of historic, architectural, and archaeological significance and potential for understanding the history of the area. These surveys will be conducted in primary impact zones that have already been surveyed for prehistoric resources. The Contractor will be responsible for the evaluation of historic resources recorded in other impact areas by the Government's survey team. Offerors should propose

this survey and evaluation will be accomplished.

8.1.4.2. Historical Archaeology - Based on the results of the survey and evaluation the Contractor will select for excavation and/or intensive study those sites and/or portions of sites which are expected to yield information important to the history of the area and will increase understanding of the past events and/or human behavioral adaptations. This selection of sites will be in accordance with the Research Design (see 8.4. below). Although the selection of sites will be a professional determination at the discretion of the Contractor, the extent of excavation will be a function of resources avialable to the Government; therefore, the final detemination of the extent of excavations will be made by the Bureau of Reclamation.

8.1.4.3. Historical Architecture - Based on the results of the survey and evaluation the Contractor will select for architectural recording those structures which will contribute to the general knowledge and understanding of the devleopment of vernacular architecture and/or historical engineering techniques in southwestern Colorado. Recording will meet or exceed the standards of the Historic American Buildings Survey or the Historic American Engineering Record. Structures worth recording may include buildings, bridges, tunnels, irrigation systems, and structures associated with railroads. Offerors should propose state of the art techniques for recording these resources, considering both time and cost constraints.

(From U.S. Bureau of Reclamation: 1979)

In keeping with the original Scope-of-Work, Table I summarizes the tasks that were completed on the schedule originally outlined by the Bureau of Reclamation according to the research design in the subcontract proposal (Baker: 1978d).

Historical Archaeology

During the week of July 17-21, a small crew from Centuries Research intensively inventoried the approximately 2,000 acres of first-year impact area (1-4) for historic sites (Fig. 10). This crew was led by Steven G. Baker and consisted of Karen Olson, Robert Kriebel and Joseph Bartolini of Centuries' permanent staff. A total of 12 sites were inventoried, including Big Bend and McPhee from outside the first-year study area. The site of Big Bend (Fig. 5) was found to be intact and Duane Smith's historical research has revealed that the site is significant to the Dolores region and along with McPhee may be eligible for the National Register. At this time Baker met with Douglas Dykeman in order to coordinate historic site eval-

TABLE 1
Historical Study Task Performance Outline

Year 1 (1978) - Begin historical and archaeological fieldwork
- Begin compilation of histories
- Begin study and analysis
(U.S. Bureau of Reclamation 1978: Fig. 2)

Specific Target Dates Pertinent to History		Date Actually Completed
1978		
* May	Contract award.	July 7, 1978 - formal award to Centuries
* June	Begin compilation of documentary narrative, and oral histories.	Centuries commenced research in June ahead of legal contract award
* July	Complete survey and evaluation of historic sites in impact areas 1-4.	Centuries completed fieldwork July 21 and submitted site forms and preliminary evaluations to Contractor August 29.
	Begin historical archaeology. Begin architectural recording.	Permission for Centuries to commence was delayed until after Nov. 9. Attempt to initiate fieldwork was made Nov. 21. Mitigation funds not allowed by C.U. After Nov. 21, weather precluded any fieldwork in 1978.
Nov.	Intensive review starts and lasts until Jan. 1979.	
1979		
Feb.	All funds and work tasks frozen by Contractor.	
April	Complete historical archaeology and architectural recording in impact areas 1-4.	Target date will not be met. Anticipated delay is expected until June or July 1979 after good weather and additional funds are available.
Various reporting schedules.		These have been, and will continue to be, met

* From RFP First Year Anticipated Schedule (U.S. Bureau of Reclamation 1978: Fig. 1)

uation needs of the government survey crew. Dykeman was to supply Baker with completed site forms each month.

Centuries' site forms were completed in August along with photo records, artifact cataloging, and other miscellaneous tasks attending the survey effort.

Initial recommendations for first year mitigation needs for historical resources were submitted to the Project Senior Principal Investigator on August 29. It was then anticipated that field mitigtion work could be commenced by October 15. Two revisions of the mitigation proposal format were prepared in keeping with the Senior and Co-Principal Investigators' comments. The final and most substantial proposal for first-year mitigation work was submitted on October 20, but was lost in the project's administrative channels and was not made available to the Bureau or SHPO until January 1979 after the review of Centuries' performance had been completed. One of the earlier mitigation plans for historical resources had been approved by the SHPO in November. After November 9, Centuries was informally authorized to commence portions of the proposed fieldwork. No mitigation funds had been approved for this work, but a "good faith" effort was made to initiate mitigation of 5MT4564 on November 21. However, bad weather set in immediately and precluded fieldwork in 1978.

Historical Research

Oral History: Baker has searched for source persons and conducted a few minor problem-specific and untaped interviews with individuals familiar with the Year 1 impact areas. People with a long-term familiarity with the project area are scarce except for previous residents of McPhee. Previously compiled oral history source materials have been appraised by Duane Smith as part of his general historical research. Although oral sources will be used continuously in the project when pertinent to special tasks, no oral history project will be initiated as a separate task. A request for clarifiction of the Bureau's wishes in regard to the scope of oral history was made to Mr. Radcliffe and the Bureau indicated that no specialized oral history project was expected. A specific oral history project is not necessary or justifiable as stated in the original proposal unless it is conducted in relation to McPhee. It is now believed that oral history and above-ground archaeology and perhaps some limited excavation could provide a very significant contribution from McPhee, but these potentials will be evaluated at a future date. It was originally anticipated that Smith and Baker would conduct interviews during the winter and spring research program.

Documentary History: Dr. Duane Smith (Smith 1978) completed a manuscript entitled, "Valley of the River of Sorrows: in the fall of 1978. This document constitutes a rigorous study and appraisal of documentary sources pertaining to the Dolores Valley itself in the vicinity of the reservoir. This report focused on four major subjects: Dominguez-Escalante, Big Bend, Beaver Creek Massacre, and McPhee, and primarily yielded negative data, namely that such hoped-for information often does not exist for all subjects. McPhee and the agricultural homesteading tradition in the project areas are believed to be the only meaningful subjects for which there are potentials for further historical research. Baker and Olson have studied some of the patents and had originally anticipated writing a manuscript on land use, agriculture, and homesteading patterns in the total project area. This would have been a sizeable effort and involved correlation of data from hundreds of land patents. This report would have been a major focus in the historical studies and could have been completed by June 1979. Dr. Smith also completed a wider and general contextual history of the region entitled, "With Cheerful Hopes for the Future" (Smith 1979). Neither of these documents are suitable as the final historical research documents for the Dolores Project. A great deal more needs to be done, as pointed out in the original research proposal. At the time Centuries was stopped from further work, it was embarked upon a viable and integrated, yet long-range, research program that needed to be completed component by component according to the research design originally accepted by both the University of Colorado and the Bureau of Reclamation and geared to a four-year performance period.

Architectural History

No specific work in architectural history has been completed. Recommendations for recording have been made for sites within the first-year impact areas.

Methodology

Historical Research: Duane Smith has examined both original and secondary source materials pertaining to the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition, the town of Big Bend, the town of McPhee, and the Beaver Creek Massacre. Methodology has been that of traditional historical research. Smith has also exhausted secondary source materials pertaining to the Dove Creek-Cortez-Towaoc area.

Steve Baker and his staff began a detailed land patent study which involved mapping original land patents on U.S.G.S. quadrangle sheets so that one may predict the nature, location, and the date ranges of homesteads while in the field. The tracts on the map are keyed to data taken from the original patent documents. These data

can be entered into a recently developed keysort card system which allows for correlation of various types of land with homestead laws, dates, and several other variables. It was originally anticipated that this would result in a major document on land use in the overall project area. This project was, however, halted in February. Although extensive research with the patents and homesteding in general must be completed, some basic patterns in homesteading and land use have become apparent and are discussed in this report.

Historical Archaeology: The four first-year impact areas were inventoried for historic cultural resources by a four-person crew. This crew conducted pedestrian transects throughout the impact areas. These transects were spaced at varying intervals which depended on terrain. Generally, however, these were at about 20 meters which is close enough to locate nearly any form of historic resource in western Colorado under average conditions.

The survey crew used a U.S.G.S. quadrangle sheet which had original patent tracts marked on it. At any given time the crew could see what patent tract they were working in. If, for instance, the crew found themselves in a tract patented in the 1880s under the Homestead Act of 1862, they should encounter a homestead site there. This method helps to predict where homesteads will be or should be found.

Basic inventory data were acquired for each site but no attempt was made to obtain a final and highly formalized site record since, in keeping with the research design, detailed maps and surface collections were considered to be a part of mitigation strategies if such were warranted. As discussed later in this report, sites were evaluated in terms of their physical integrity and capacity to yield good data on the various phases of homesteading. In this light, varying levels of work were recommended for each site.

The Special Problem of National Register Eligibility

The survey and evaluation process for historic sites in the Dolores Project area was not initially approached from the perspective of National Register eligibility. Although the question of such eligibility is usually a standard part of cultural resource surveys, the Dolores Project was somewhat different in that operations were being conducted within the boundaries of the Anasazi Archaeological District which had already been determined eligible for the National Register on the basis of archaeological values. These were, however, prehistoric archaeological values and historic resources were not considered in the original description of the District. When he completed his summary report of the resources of the Dolores Project area in 1977, Nickens (1977: 36) stated that the recommendation for

nomination of the Anasazi Archaeological District should "be amended to include historic Euro-American cultural resources in the project area." After that statement the subject of National Register elibigility of historic resources was never again mentioned in circulating documents as a significant point in the Dolores Project's Archaeological Program, although provision for survey, evaluation, and mitigation strategies for such resources were built into the scope-of-work for the project.

The scope-of-work for the 1978 Historical Fieldwork as given in the Request for Proposals for the Dolores Project Cultural Resources Mitigation Program subsequently only state under Survey and Evaluation that:

> The Contractor will conduct an intensive survey and evaluation in terms of historic, architectural, and archaeological significance and potential for understanding the history of the area. These surveys will be conducted in primary impact zones that have already been surveyed for prehistoric resources. The Contractor will be responsible for the evaluation of historic resources recorded in other impact areas by the Government's survey team. Offerors should propose how this survey and evaluation will be accomplished.
>
> (U.S. Bureau of Reclamation 1978: 8.1.4.1)

In response to the Government's work statement, a detailed research proposal was prepared by the subcontractor for the Contractor (Baker 1978d: pt, 8.1.4.1). The Bureau's scope-of-work, as quoted above, nowhere mentioned the subject of evaluation for National Register Eligibility and pointed out that the project was designed "to obtain the services necessary to minimize the adverse effects of inundation or construction on significant cultural resources in and near the area of the Anasazi Archaeological District" (U.S. Bureau of Reclamation 1978: D-1).

It further pointed out that, among other things, the Memorandum of Agreement with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation provided for "Implementation of a program of archaeological and historical data recovery, study, analysis, and publication;...(U.S. Bureau of Reclamation 1978: D-1). As a result of the foregoing references to the role of historical studies in the Dolores Project, it appeared that historical archaeological sites were, along with the prehistoric ones, already determined eligible since they were within the District. This in turn led to the following response by the subcontractor in proposing his evaluation plan for historic sites:

(b.) Evaluation of Historic Sites

After the field inventory is completed, all historic sites will be evaluated in terms of significance (and National Register Eligibility if still pertinent since the project area has already been recommended for nomination to the National Register as an archaeological district). The historical archaeological team will visit many, if not all, historical resources inventoried by the Government's survey team. The decision as to which sites to visit will be made on the basis of the data collected by the Government team. If sufficient data are collected, it may not be necessary to revisit individual sites. Other sites may seem significant enough to require a visit by the historical archaeologist. (Baker 1978d: Response to 8.1.4.1).

Neither the Bureau of Reclamation nor the Contractor again mentioned the question of National Register Eligibility until the spring of 1979 when the Bureau's archaeologists reviewed the draft version of this report and severely criticized the author for not addressing National Register eligibility. The Contractor had, however, previously submitted evaluations of historic sites and mitigation plans to the Bureau who in turn had submitted them to the State Historic Preservation Officer who approved them on November 8, 1978 (Baker 1978a-b; Townsend 1978).

After November 9, Centuries was authorized to begin fieldwork but winter weather precluded successful mitigation efforts which were initiated on November 21.

The end result of this situation has been two different and contrasting sets of documents pertaining to the 1978 inventory and evaluation effort. These documents include three versions of mitigation recommendations and a draft fieldwork report which evaluates sites only in keeping with the author's research design for the Dolores Project and not in terms of Register eligibility. These are Baker 1978a-c, and the draft fieldwork report (Baker 1979), which was circulated on a limited basis. The present report does evaluate sites in terms of National Register eligibility and should be viewed as the latest findings on the historic resources. Earlier reports should be disregarded.

An Overview of the Dolores Project Area Environment

The Dolores Project area (Figs. 1-4) focuses on the Dolores River Valley which will be the water source for this large water storage project in southwestern Colorado. The McPhee Dam will be constructed across the valley at a point roughly 12 miles northwest and downstream from the present town of Dolores in Montezuma County, Colorado. This

reservoir will eventually provide irrigation water for substantial areas of the Dolores Water Conservancy District in Montezuma and Dolores Counties between Dolores and Dove Creek and southward through Cortez to the Towaoc area of the Ute Mountain Indian Reservation.

The Dolores River heads in the San Juan Mountains of southwestern Colorado in the historic mining area around the town of Rico (Fig. 1). The river then flows southward approximtely 25 miles to the town of Dolores. In this portion of its course, the river passes from the San Juan Mountains which are part of the Southern Rocky Mountain Province and into the Colorado Plateau Province (Thornbury 1967: 346-347, 405, 417).

The river then flows northward for approximately another 60 miles where it converges with the San Miguel River and ultimately joins with the Colorado River in Utah. As it passes into the Colorado Plateau Province above the Project area the river's course is increasingly characterized by rugged sedimentary features. The Dolores Project area is, however, well east of the classic canyonlands section of the Colorado Plateau and lies in an area generally known as the San Juan country. This term does not refer just to the actual mountains, but also to the immediately adjacent portions of the Colorado Plateau Province which thus takes in the entire southwest corner of Colorado, the southeast corner of Utah, the northeast corner of Arizona, and the northwest corner of New Mexico. The mountains and adjacent plateaus of the San Juan country thus cover an area of about 20,000 square miles (Atwood and Mather 1932: 4).

The mountains are the geomorphic focal point of the San Juan country and are about 90 miles in length from east to west and 70 miles wide. The San Juans are a well-defined group of high rugged mountains. Thirteen peaks stand over 14,000 feet and the range rises dramatically above the mesas and plateaus which make up the rest of the San Juan country on all but the extreme southern and eastern edges. The topography of the region thus extends from very high lofty peaks to nearly "every variety of foothill, mesa, plateau, or butte to valleys that range from precipitous canyons to broad, gently sloping intermountain basins (Atwood and Mather 1967: 6-7)."

The San Juans are bordered on the northwest by the Uncompahgre Plateau which is a vast upland fault block surface that extends in a northwest by southeast orientation away from the mountains. The plateau forms the divide between the Gunnison and San Miguel/Dolores drainage systems. The drainage basin for the Dolores River lies in a deeply eroded area known as the Paradox Fault Basin which lies west of and adjacent to the Uncompahgre Plateau. The Paradox Basin is a rectangularly shaped tract about 150 miles long and 70 miles wide and contains eight major anticlinal valleys which parallel the

Uncompahgre Plateau and serve as drainage channels for the San Miguel and Dolores Rivers (Thornbury 1967: 428-9; Cater 1955).

The topography of the project vicinity is typical of much of the Colorado Plateau Province, though not as rugged and dramatic as in the well-known Canyonlands Section further west in Utah. The area has, however, been deeply dissected by streams heading in the mountains of the San Juan country. This erosion has produced profuse upland mesas and plateaus with comparatively flat or gently undulating surfaces bordered by steep cliffs which descend abruptly to the valley floors. These flatish upland features may be considered mesas when they have been carved into small fragments while larger units between canyons are referred to as plateaus. In general, this terrain is referred to as "rimrock" or upland terrain when compared to valley floors and riverine environments (Atwood and Mather 1932: 32). Elevations on the valley floor in the reservoir area are about 6,800 feet while the adjacent uplands reach about 7,500 feet.

The general project vicinity is essentially semi-arid and has normal annual precipitation of roughly 12 inches and not more than 20 inches. There are about 120 freeze-free days each year. Within a very few miles, however, elevations rise dramatically with corresponding lowering of temperatures and increasing annual moisture. In the project area the mean annual temperature is about 50° (U.S. Department of Commerce 1968, 1973, 1977). Overall, the environment could be termed dry and harsh in areas which have not received irrigation waters. It is believed that the area was historically only marginally suited for agriculture prior to the coming of upland dryland bean farming. There have however been no substantive considerations of changes in the historic environment of the area.

In the project area the native floral community is typical of the lower reaches of the mountain/plateau and the semi-desert vegetation zones. Pinyon and juniper forests are abundant on the upland mesas and plateaus while ponderosa pine, Douglas fir, and aspen are found in higher mountain areas to the east. Shrub oak and sagebrush are also common in the area as are a wide variety of understory grasses and shrubs typical of western Colorado (Costello 1954: vi-viii). A regionally typical riparian community characterized by willow and cottonwood is sometimes present on the valley floors near the rivers. The faunal community is believed to be typical of western Colorado which commonly includes mule, deer, elk, black bear, and a variety of smaller mammals.

PART II
THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

WITH CHEERFUL HOPES FOR THE FUTURE: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE TOWAOC-CORTEZ-DOVE CREEK AREA

Duane A. Smith

Prologue

Southwestern Colorado was almost the last part of the state to be developed. Not until the 1880s did permanent residents come, and the 1920s had arrived before the final pioneer broke virgin ground for a farm. By then Colorado had long since passed its semi-centennial and was moving toward its seventy-fifth birthday.

The Montezuma Valley, an 1890 pamphlet promoting Cortez and its nearby irrigated land, felt obligated to point out that this region had "until recently" been "Terra Incognita"; therefore, a multitude of opportunities still existed. When local boosters found it necessary to use this tactic it was obvious that their "promised land" trailed the rest of the state, although they stopped short of explaining the reasons for this retardation.

Two conditions created this situation: the extreme isolation of the area, and a desperate shortage of the water needed to make the semi-arid land bloom. The climate and environmental conditions could, in time, be mastered - they had been before in Colorado. Why, though, should a prospective pioneer bother to travel to southwestern Colorado when there was plenty of other land that did not require confrontation with these two problems?

Settlement, when it did come, followed the typical 19th century Colorado pattern, simply delayed by several decades. The earliest people in the area had been the Spanish and the furtrappers, who only passed though in search of something other than what the sagebrush-covered mesas and valleys seemed to offer. A few American army patrols later rode in to look around and then moved on.

In 1860-61, the mining frontier came close when it spilled over into the Animas Valley and northward to Baker's Park, the site of future Silverton. Isolation, small gold returns, and the hostility of the Utes drove these pioneers back. It was not until 1869 and the 1870s that others moved up both the Animas and Dolores river valleys to find minerals at Rico and Silverton. Permanent settlement finally reached the fringes of the area under discussion in the seventies.

Mining in La Plata Canyon motivated establishment of the first ranches in the Mancos region, now the eastern part of Montezuma County. Just a little later, in the late 1870s and early 1880s, ranchers moved into the lower Dolores Valley near what became the town of Dolores, attracted by the high prices and good markets at Rico. Small communities eventually grew in response to the needs of nearby settlers, and Mancos and Big Bend evolved. They were small, isolated, and local in their significance.

The region's principal town became Durango, the seat of La Plata County, which included the entire southwestern corner of Colorado. Nurtured by the Denver and Rio Grande, this metropolis of some 3,000 residents, by the mid-1880s, was the railroad, business, social, and political center. It helped promote the area, but its interests lay primarily to the east of the Montezuma Valley. Without a river to call its own, the Montezuma was a valley in name only and lay 50 miles from Durango over what might charitably be called roads, but what were, more realistically, only trails. Even with Durango and the Rico mines, the district was poorly advertised and woefully short of investors and their funds.

As the poor country cousin, the Montezuma Valley received only the crumbs of a slim feast. Thus it languished, awaiting the time when settlers would finally come with, it was hoped, money to solve the water shortage and in numbers enough to attract the Denver and Rio Grande or some other railroad to extend its lines into the area.

At this point, on the verge of settlement, several patterns and problems were already apparent. Urban settlement would precede much of the development, as had occurred in Durango, where the hinterlands were built up after the town. Farmers would have to spend several seasons adjusting to the climatic variations and experimenting with crops. Ranching would be the natural cutting edge of the agricultural frontier, because there was plenty of open rangeland for the taking; however, even the rancher needed a railhead to ship his cattle, the day of the long drive having passed by the 1880s. And he and his cattle needed water, not as much as the farmer, but enough to allow for seasonal pasturage. Real growth awaited the arrival of the railroad, the 19th century's ultimate form of transportation. Durango and Silverton had already reached this pinnacle of success with the coming of the Denver and Rio Grande, while mountain-locked, isolated Rico waited its turn. Finally, southwestern Colorado would have to compete with the more glamorous and potentially rewarding mining districts for investors' dollars.

How well these problems could be solved would tell the tale of the development of the Montezuma Valley. Optimism and faith can carry a farmer, rancher, businessman, and developer only so far; then comes the time of reckoning, when reality strips away everything but the truth.

"With Cheerful Hopes for the Future"

Settlers moved slowly toward future Cortez in the 1880s. Isolated in southwest Colorado, with the nearest railroad at Durango, a long day's ride from even the border of the Montezuma Valley, it exhibited few attractive inducements. Covered with sagebrush, short of water, and far from anywhere, it offered nothing that could not be found under better conditions elsewhere in the state.

Only a few whites were living in the valley by 1885 (Hall 1895: 226). Grazing cattle roamed the territory during the winter, when the comparatively mild climate and grass beckoned them from the harsher mountain ranges. Ranchers gradually realized the value of the land, and sometime around mid-decade the first ranch in the Cortez vicinity was launched. Cortez itself was located in December, 1896, and its first house completed the next month. It was begun with the same expectations that had nurtured the frontier movement since Jamestown, Virginia in 1607. Durango tipped its editorial pen to its potential rival but saw no reason to be overly concerned with competition from it.

Situated on a high point in the valley, which afforded the settlers a magnificent view, Cortez started with some decided handicaps. It was far from any railroad, planted in a semi-arid land, and devoid of any nearby water supply which could support a significant amount of development. Water was the "lifeblood" of the future; the commmunity could not hope to grow when it had to be hauled from Mitchell Springs at a reported cost of 25¢ per barrel (Porter n.d.: 9). Thus, almost instantaneously with its birth, Cortez came face to face with the most pressing problem of the next fifty years. Transportation, climate, land and economic problems could be overcome in time. Water, however, could not wait. The planning of, and even some work on, a large-scale irrigation and water project antedated Cortez' beginnings. The project seemed simple: to tunnel or blast a cut through the narrow ridge that separated the Dolores River Valley from the Montezuma Valley and let the water through. Work started on a tunnel for that purpose in February, 1886, underwritten by Boston money and promoted by James Hanna (Montezuma Journal 4-28-1888; Hall 1895: 228). The Montezuma Valley Water Supply Company displayed frontier initiative and faith at its best.

It was one thing to scheme and plan, another to tunnel 5,400 feet through the Dolores Divide. Before the tunnel was completed two years later, the company had been reorganized, and a rival was on the scene to challenge it for the potential market. This rival company, the Dolores Land and Canal Company (known locally as "The No. 2 Company"), blasted and dug a cut through the divide about 4,000 feet long.

There were not enough potential buyers for both companies to succeed. Fortunately, the two compromised their ambitions and consolidated into the Colorado Consolidated Land and Water Company in 1889 before bankruptcy could end both their efforts.

The project was far from completed when water was carried from the Dolores River through the divide to the Montezuma Valley. By 1890 over 100 miles of canals had been built, one storage reservoir partly constructed, others planned, and diverting dams were channeling the flow of water, reported to be 1,300 cubic feet of water per second (C.C.L. & W. Co. 1890). The Durango Herald was not indulging solely in journalistic rhetoric when it said of the project in April, 1888:

> Tunneling of Dolores mountain in order to get water over the Montezuma Valley is one of the greatest irrigating enterprises, not only in the state, but in the West and reflects credit upon those who have had the work in charge. (quoted in Montezuma Journal 4-28-1888).

Cortez' new Montezuma Journal, on April 23, expressed the feelings of the home folks and offered a toast:

> The event should receive that public and enthusiastic recognition by the people of Montezuma Valley, that its close association with their future interest and prosperity warrants. Let's celebrate, and let it be a novel one by all taking WATER.

The association between the town and water company was closer than a hasty glance might indicate. The water company and Hanna also controlled the town company, called the Cortez Land and Improvement Company. Hanna, in fact, is given credit for suggesting the name of the community (Hall 1895: 229). It was not unusual for the developing company to take advantage of land promotion; the Denver and Rio Grande did the same thing in Durango, as did others elsewhere in the West.

The intent was to have water in Cortez by May, 1888, but not until July did it flow to the town. Fred Taylor, an 1880s pioneer, accused the company of being so anxious to get the water there that it diverted $80,000 from ditch building to construction of a three-mile flume to bring the water to Cortez. He felt this shortchanged other phases of the project and led to financial problems, which resulted in the aforementioned merger (Taylor 1935: 157). Perhaps it did, but the end appeared to justify the means, and Cortez had its desperately needed water.

Mary Blake remembered how they yearned for that water. For the first July Fourth celebration in 1887, local people hauled several

dozen trees into town and set them out to make it look like trees were growing there, "just for the occasion." Trees were not only good for shade on that barren mound, they were also a sign of progressiveness and of permanent settlement. By the time water arrived via the ditch a year later, trees had been planted and were being tenderly cared for and watered. Blake recalled, "we put all wash water, even such slop as not too greasy on the trees to keep them alive" (Blake Interview, CWA). They kept those trees, their town, and themselves alive while awaiting that water. Now that it was there, Cortez' first crisis was over.

Upon the expectation of water and future growth, Cortez matured. The town company built a stone block and the Congregational Church donated money for a church building. The first frame schoolhouse was erected in August, 1887, and veteran San Juan newspaperman John Curry founded the Montezuma Journal in April, 1888 (Smith Interview, CWA). His first issue on the 28th proclaimed, "With cheerful hopes for the future, we launch the Journal upon the sea of journalism, not rigged for a cyclone, but safe to sail in pacific seas." He promised, as others have since, to "champion their (Montezuma Valley's) interests and be effective in promoting the same."

Lee Keely, who traveled through the settlement about the time the ditch was opened, remembered seeing the ditching men living in tents on Main Street, spending their evenings shooting prairie dogs that roamed the town. The community, he recalled, consisted of a restaurant, livery stables, blacksmith shop, and saloon. It actually had more than those, but they must have been the things that impressed Keely. Cortez was on its way, but the direction was unclear.

One deficiency, something which would insure continued progress, was designation as county seat. There was no hope of capturing La Plata's county seat - Durango had too much of a head start and population for any usurper to challenge it successfully. But there was more than one route to the goal. The easiest would be to form a new county, which Cortez could dominate from the start. The Colorado General Assembly was willing, creating 13 counties in the 1889 session, including separation of Montezuma from La Plata and designtion of Cortez as its county seat (Paxson 1906: 210-212).

This time Durango took umbrage; confiscating two-thirds of the county was too much to accept in silence. The Durango Herald, February 22, 1889, sputtered that Durangoans did not blame the citizens of Cortez for working for a division, but the fact that the town company had proposed "to usurp" so much to "gratify greed" was more than "our people" could stand. They had no choice but to stand it, though not without resentment. A rivalry between the two communities, one which intensified in the 20th century, was just beginning.

In the meantime, life in the Montezuma Valley grew no easier. Dr. Bernard Byrne, recently resigned army doctor from Fort Lewis, near Durango, came over to establish a practice and a ranch. He recounted the disasters of the summer of 1888. The flume broke, flooding part of the valley and ruining crops. Sickness seemed to be rampant, whooping cough and scarlet fever reaching nearly epidemic proportions. Byrne, the only available physician, worked feverishly but unsuccessfully to stop the spread, losing even his own infant daughter. His wife nearly suffered a breakdown under the pressure of pioneering, and the couple eventually left Cortez to return to their previous home in the East (Byrne 1962: 174-179). His book has several stories of the toll taken on the settlers by the opening of the land.

There were others like the Byrne family, but even more who were determined to make this their home. In their estimation, Cortez was taking on "municipal" airs, and it had grown. Even Byrne was optimistic and he wrote, "gradually Cortez assumed the dignity of its importance as a county seat." In 1890 the business district included a bank, hotel, drugstore, lumber yard, and other stores. It would, in the opinion of the author of that little promotional pamphlet, The Montezuma Valley, ". . . soon become a city of considerable importance." He went on to say that for hard working people there existed unlimited opportunity - carpenters, masons, female house servants, farm hands, boot and shoe dealers, and others would find immediate employment at high wages (C.C.L. & W. Co. 1890; Byrne 1962). Cortez and the Montezuma Valley loomed as the land of opportunity.

The knock did not fall on deaf ears; by the end of the decade Cortez' business district had grown considerably. A stage line ran between the railroad at Dolores and still-isolated Cortez. A local coal mine provided fuel; a dairy, milk products; and an attorney, help with legal matters. The barber offered hair cuts for 35¢ and shaves for 15¢. A two-story stone schoolhouse gave a definitive air of permanence, and a brass band indicated that culture had arrived. For the joiners, the CWTU, Woodmen of the World, and the GAR, a Union veterans' organization, provided companionship and common causes (Denver Gazetteer 1897: 223; Montezuma Journal, 9-7, 14-1897). The fact that on several occasions water had been in short supply only seemed like a soon-to-be-resolved nuisance. That was not the case,and the Montezuma Journal, September 7, 1897, felt obligated to warn people that with winter approaching, they would either have to get along with very little good water or use very bad water. The editor wanted the town well improved. During the winter months, with water low in the Dolores River, the whole Montezuma Valley suffered.

Life on a farm in 19th century Colorado was hard, regardless of where one lived and worked, despite such cheery comments as, "Farmers are always sure of good opening in this valley. Land is cheap and

will rapidly increase in value." This Montezuma Valley promoter also believed stock raising could be pursued at a profit, and if farming and ranching were combined, only small capital would be needed (C.C.L. & W. Co. 1890). There was more to it than that, however.

Claims for the "great fertility of the soil," climate, vast grazing lands and other advantages notwithstanding, only trial and error could determine what would grow and what would not. The pioneers suffered for their very status as pioneers. The persistent problems of the lack of a large market and the difficulties of transporting products to the railroad defied the best intentions to solve them. The distance and cost priced the Montezuma farmers and ranchers out of the regional market and continued to hurt them for decades.

Then there were the problems of isolation and loneliness. Lyda Larimore, whose husband came down from Silverton in 1910, expressed well how this affected a young wife and mother. She initially thought living in a tent on their farm would be a "thrilling experience." It did not turn out that way. The home site was grubbed out of sage; no neighbors were in sight. On their first evening, her husbnd had to go with a barrel to get water, leaving his family. Lyda was afraid to stay in the lonely spot, so she started a bonfire.

> When darkness cambe I dashed outside at intervals and put more sage brush on the fire; then back I ran to the gun (left by her husband for protection). The coyotes began to howl. First from the north, the bloodcurdling chorus rang out. It was answered from the west, back and forth the concert went on. Frightened almost out of my wits, I wondered how soon they would join forces and attack. (Larimore n.d.).

No attack came, but even in 1910, nearly a quarter of a century after the founding of Cortez, life in the Montezuma Valley still harbored elements of the frontier.

Another problem of some worry to the settlers was the proximity of the Ute Indians. At one time, this had all been their land, but by treaty they had given up most of it, until by the time of the creation of Montezuma County, the reservation covered less than half of the southern portion of La Plata and Montezuma counties, plus part of Archuleta. Even this seemed too much to the settlers, who were convinced that the Indians held the best land.

The Utes who remained in Colorado were concentrated along the state's southern border. They had occupied this land now for a generation under the American government, and for many generations before that on their own. Uncle Sam had established a tribal agency at what became Ignacio, south of Durango, and the remainder of the land was left to the Utes' own discretion. Some attempt had been made to encourage farming, with varied success.

Concern continued to increase over who could better utilize the land, the Utes or the white farmers and ranchers. These latter were aided and abetted by Durangoans, who were convinced that the Indians inhibited their community's growth and future. Finally in 1894-95, a bill passed Congress and was signed by President Grover Cleveland, giving the Utes the right to choose land in individual allotments anywhere on their reservation, or to travel to land which would be held in common on the western part of the reservation. The remaining acreage was to be thrown open for settlement.

The consequence of this action during the next few years was to divide the Utes into two groups. Those who chose to take an allotment stayed on the eastern end of the reservation to become today's Southern Utes. Those who held to the more traditional ways migrated westward to the Navajo Springs area to form the nucleus of the Ute Mountain Ute tribe and the Towaoc settlement.

The remaining land was opened to settlement on May 4, 1899. Durango grabbed all the headlines for being the principal starting point for a rush that was advertised as a rival to Oklahoma's of a few years before. It was not, but settlement came to the ex-Ute land anyway.

Cortez thus found itself neighbor to a reservation, whose land was more barren than most of the rest of the county and faced an even more serious water scarcity. These twin troubles would haunt the Ute Mountain Utes from the very day their own reservation was established.

Although on the sidelines, the Montezuma Journal saw only blessings coming Cortez' way:

> Now let the reservoir be built, then a railroad through the valley with an outlet to the coast, then the coal mines will be opened, and this section will resemble a mighty arsenal of industry, and the valley blossom as a garden (Montezuma Journal:4-7-1899).

The railroad did not come, and the water situation only slowly improved. Never would the county resemble an "arsenal of industry." Perhaps it blossomed as a garden, but a garden whose future was blighted by the transportation problems and the question of water.

Speculators who had come into the region early to buy up land at a low price, found themselves holding a bag of shattered hopes. This very fact of high-priced land served to retard growth in some of the more desirable places. Unable to afford the price, the farmers were driven to the more marginal land, with predictable results.

Another plan was tried in 1910 when experiments in dry land agriculture were conducted. These involved special crops, equipment, and plowing methods to utilize as much rainfall as possible, rather than relying on other sources. These methods were also being tried on Colorado's eastern plains with some initial success, and they opened new

possibilities for Montezuma County. As a result, Cortez went through a mini-boom period. The business district improved and modernized, and the appearance of a Ford dealer and the Cortez-Dolores Stage and Auto Line showed that it had arrived in the 20th century. The automobile and truck offered the best hope yet of overcoming the isolation and transportation problems, and also served initially to highlight the poor condition of the county roads. They also doomed the blacksmith and livery stable. Progress had its costs.

Eva House laughed years later about the time some unsophisticated horses saw their first car. They panicked and ran in terror, snorting and "looking this way and that" (House interview, CWA). Maybe they realized this new tin monster doomed their dominance as a means of transportation and work power. Cortez could not have cared less and quickly embraced the new wonder. By 1921, it displayed three "auto service companies" and five truck transportaiton lines (Montezuma Journal:9-11-13; Durango Democrat 1921: Smiley 9113).

The new excitement over dry farming and improved irrigation created a myriad of small farming communities, some hardly more than a post office and cross-roads store. The Montezuma Journal, September 11, 1913, for example, carried notes from Lebanon, Lake View, Arriola, Aztec, and Arbor. They represented the expansion of county agriculture and the hopes of a new wave of homesteaders and farmers. Times change; aspirations and hopes do not.

There was, the 1918 Colorado Yearbook advised, room for perhaps twice as large a rural population as Montezuma County then supported. Principal opportunities were offered along "the lines of agricultural development." That was enough encouragement; the people came. They most likely had not gone on to read what else the editor had to say, a warning that any extensive development "probably" will wait upon railroad facilities. He also referred to the "remoteness" to markets when discussing coal; the same held true for farming (Brook-Hoffner 1918:153). No matter, new people hurried in and with them "new" expectations. Montezuma County would be the promised land of their dreams. They settled in areas named for themselves, sometimes associated with a country store, other times not.

Directly north, in the Hartman Draw vicinity, was the German, or, as it became known, the Mildred Community. With settlement dating back even before Cortez', this prosperous farming district was a backbone of agricultural development. Arriola followed a similar pattern, particularly after the opening of the irrigation system. That small community had a church, post office, store or two, and a school. Both of the hamlets grew especially after the turn of the century.

Lebanon dates from about 1909, when a land and improvement company boomed the area for its farming and fruit-growing potential. The company organized the village, started some small fruit orchards, put in telephone lines, and generally promoted exuberantly. Nonetheless, the

venture failed and bankruptcy ended expectations of profits. It did bring settlement, however, and the company had the right idea about agricultural potential. Farther north, Lewis had to wait until the completion of the canal to that district, which happened in 1906. The post office dates from 1911. Both dry land and irrigated farming were practiced in this area.

Beyond Lewis was the realm of the dry land farmer, and it was here that the first experiments were conducted. The settlement of Yellow Jacket grew in 1912-13 because of springs which furnished good water for domestic use. Like its neighbors, a school and a store with post office were the heart of the community (Freeman 1958:138-146). For a few years all of these prospered slightly, hoping to emerge as more than a crossroads stop. Their fate rested upon maturation of their economic base and improvement of local transportation, which made even a trip to Cortez an infrequent occurrence in the early days.

The San Juan Basin Directory of 1921 summed up their present and future. Agriculture and stockraising were credited as the major industries for all, with the addition of horticulture for Arriola and Lebanon and fruit for Lewis. Settlers' names evidenced a largely Anglo-Saxon background. A store and post office seemed to be the extent of local businesses (Durango Democrat 1921:149-151, 173-175, 186, 189; Denver Gazetteer 1915).

The 1920s were hard times for American agriculture, and Montezuma County was no exception. Ira Freeman related that "a depression came on in 1921" and seemed to grow in intensity as the year advanced. The prices of livestock and grain went down (Freeman 1958:277). By 1923, the county started to recover, but times never returned to the World-War-I-induced boom of the late teens. One bright spot in these otherwise gray years was the steady improvement of county roads. Graveling replaced the dragging of dirt roads in the spring (and, occasionally, after storms), and the state designated some major roads as Colorado highways, thereby relieving local authorities of having to maintain them. It was not until 1936-37 that the first oil surfacing took place and a modern system of roads started to appear.

The whole country was also slipping into a major depression. The crash of 1929 was felt even in isolated Cortez, although that very isolation caused a time lag before the worst effects hit home. If times had been bad in the early 1920s, they were far worse a decade later. Only after the massive efforts of the New Deal and an improved farm market, brought about by another war in Europe, did the economic cloud start to lift.

In this otherwise gloomy picture, one ray of light shone. To the north, beyond Yellow Jacket, another land rush opened up the area all the way to Dove Creek. Once more the optimism of earlier decades led people to challenge a semi-arid land with an unknown growing season and one known to be short of water.

Settlement of the Dove Creek area follows the pattern of the other areas previously discussed. In the northernmost of the extended Montezuma Valley, it was the last settled.

First came the cattlemen, who grazed their animals in the Dolores River Valley as early as the 1880s. For nearly three decades, the land was theirs. Few other homesteaders challenged them in this land of scarce water. The nearest source of it was the Dolores River. As late as August, 1912, the road from Dolores to Monticello, Utah, passed only three homesteads after leaving the irrigated land. Dove Creek itself dates from 1915, with the establishment of the post office. When Dan Hunter, who was to play a prominent role in the affairs of the community, arrived in 1918 to establish a homestead, he found only two buildings on the site (Look 1961:14; Freeman 1958:150).

By 1918, however, settlement had finally begun to reach this most neglected part of Colorado. Dove Creek was experiencing one of the last homesteading excitements in the state's history. Typical of the movement, these settlers were mostly poor people who intended to wager several years of their lives and hard work against the harsh climate and inhospitable land in hopes of winning ownership of their homestead. Al Look was one of those, and he left an account of what transpired during his year there: "It was a constant battle with drought and poverty, and to succeed, it was necessary to get up early and work until it was too dark to point." These words fairly well sum up the total experience. A man who could not grub out an acre of sagebrush per day did not amount to much, the settlers concluded, and "clearing sage is discouraging, back-breaking drudgery when done by hand." (Look 1961:150). On the sagebrush plains around Dove Creek almost everyone cleared by hand; they did not have the money to do it any other way.

Homesteaders worked as long as the money held out, then they moved on to find work to make more. When enough had been accumulated, back they came to clear some more land and pursue their goal.

They helped each other, as their predecessors had done throughout the agricultural frontier of the nineteenth century. The only difference was that this was the 1920s, the era of the flapper and bootleg gin. Homesteaders cooperated to clear land, build shacks, haul wood, and perform any other jobs that could be done better by several people than by one individual. Most of the Dove Creek "dry-nesters" whom Look knew came from Missouri, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, in search of the same thing their fathers and grandfathers before them had wanted - free land, the stepping stone to wealth and prestige.

The country was settled rapidly, particularly by veterans of the "war to end wars," which concluded in November, 1918. Look remembered that some stayed and others gave up, making the long trek "back to civilization," but one crop was assured whether they remained or departed - children (Look 1961:18). This was non-irrigated land where corn and potatoes, easy to plant, cultivate, and harvest without machinery, came first. The first pinto beans were not grown in the district until about 1927, and another decade passed before production of them really soared.

More than simply the poverty of the prioneer settlers held the region back - slow and costly transportation was a major obstacle, here as elsewhere. The early roads were dirt trails, or improved trails, courtesy of neighbors who wanted to get to Cortez. The state laid out a highway from Cortez to Dove Creek in the early 1920s, but it was 1936 before it was improved and surfaced with oil. The first real boom came to Dove Creek and its farmers at that time.

The community itself grew slowly, municipal water being a continual problem. A reservoir proved inadequate and deep wells did not alleviate the shortage. Even when water was pumped to the surface, it was often none too good. Dan Hunter, Dove Creek businessman, teacher and newspaper editor, suggested as early as 1928 that a dam, reservoir, and irrigation system would be the answer (Look 1961:31). Government engineers agreed with him, but Hunter and his supporters faced a long fight before the Dolores Project got off the drawing boards. Isolation, lack of political power, and the depression of the 1930s created only disappointment until long after 1945.

The one encouraging fact was the emergence of pinto beans as a stable cash crop for local agriculture. They thrived on dry farming methods and the local climate, giving Dolores County and Dove Creek their sole claim to agricultural fame by the end of the 1930s (Cummings 1951). Farmers driven out of the dust districts of eastern Colorado, western Oklahoma, and Texas came to try their luck hacking out the sagebrush and opening up the productive soil. The result was another small settlement boom.

By Pearl Harbor Day, Dove Creek had passed well beyond the frontier stage of its development. The pioneers of the late teens and early twenties had faced the same problems of lack of water and isolation as their Cortez forebearers in the 1880s. Even with the automobile, radio, and movies, Dove Creek's frontier period was just as arduous as those earlier years. They perhaps seemed to pass more quickly, but only the question of transportation had been resolved by World War II. The scarcity of water still bedeviled both community and farm.

Dove Creek, a 1940 viewer noted, resembled a movie set with false-fronted frame buildings on Main Street. New stores crowded their older neighbors, and they offered the newest of tractors and farm implements for sale (Anonymous 1941). The new and the old existed together, old meaning only a quarter of a century at the most. Dove Creek, the last of the Montezuma Valley to be settled, had caught up with its neighbors and like them, looked to the future.

The population growth of the region is outlined in Table 2. This points out an interesting fact, namely that Cortez, after 1950, grew to contain nearly half the population of the county. Both Cortez and Dove Creek suffered sharp population losses in the 1960s, reflecting a general rural pattern for the entire state.

By 1941, the entire Montezuma Valley had seen the last of the frontier era. It was fairly well settled and had developed an agricultural economic base. Cortez emerged as the dominant urban center, just as its promoters had forecast 55 years before. Its dominance was insured even more by the completion of the improved road system and the triumph of the car. Farmers could now drive much more easily to the "big city" to shop or conduct business. The crossroads store community was doomed as surely by the car as by the agricultural depression which forced some of the local customers to give up farming. Dove Creek would survive - it was far enough away not to be seriously harmed and, furthermore, was in another county, which meant traveling to Rico, not Cortez, for county business. Dove Creek wanted to take that designation away from the older, but severely depressed mining town, and would eventually.

The day of the little communities between Dove Creek and Cortez was nearly over. Some would remain as remnants of once-high expectations, but their customers traveled to the larger business districts and generally lower prices of Cortez, or perhaps even Dove Creek.

Montezuma County, for all its improvements, was still ranked among the rural counties of Colorado. Nineteen forty-one saw the establishment of an airport and flying service, which was a step in the right direction, but in many ways, the county lagged behind the rest of the state. There were numerous radios, but no local radio station. As yet there were no state or county paved roads and only 21 surfaced county and 44 oiled state roads. Cortez had a bank, but its assets, though good for a farming area, were way behind those of the larger, more urbanized counties. Manufacturing was almost non-existent, and Montezuma ranked near the bottom for the state (Bradford-Robinson 1942).

TABLE 2.
General Population Statistics for Montezuma County, Colorado

	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Montezuma County	1,529	3,058	5,029	6,260	7,798	10,463	9,991	14,024	12,952
Cortez	332	125	565	541	921	1,778	2,651	6,746	6,032
Dove Creek*						418	702	986	619

(U.S. Census Bureau)

*(not incorporated until 1939)

This could be expected for an area which only a few years before, in 1937, was being promoted as offering "splendid opportunities for home seekers." And a 1941 publication boosted Cortez as a trading center for sheep and cattle raisers; one highlight for tourists was Saturday night, when Main Street was filled with ranchers, farmers, and Indians (Anonymous 1941; Lawrence Press 1937). All this would change after World War II. Following the war, changes were swift and significant. There would be no going back.

The discovery of uranium nearby and the development of oil and natural gas brought another boom, the first based upon something besides agriculture. Cortez, though not gaining as much as its rival, Durango, still basked in new wealth and modernized and grew. More important to the community in the long run was the improvement of the roads. New ones opened the area even more to the tourist. The main attraction was Mesa Verde National Park, and along Cortez' main street a virtual strip of tourist-oriented businesses developed, giving the town a new image and a broader economic base. As a result, Cortez came to dominate both the county and the valley to a greater extent that ever before.

With the improvement of air transportation and the introduction of television, the whole valley came quickly into the 20th century. Now instead of days to get to Denver, it took only hours, and a person could watch, that same evening, events and news which took place during the day. The impact of these innovations cannot be underestimated.

The farmers' and ranchers' problems, however, were all too familiar, depressingly so. The farm market again sagged at the conclusion of the war and did not improve for any length of time in the next generation. Cortez, Dove Creek, and Montezuma County all lost population in the 1960s. The problems seemed so overwhelming that some locals willingly joined in the farm strikes and activist farm movements of the late 1970s. For Montezuma County and neighboring Dove Creek, which finally became the county seat of Dolores County, the predicament was compounded by those two problems which had plagued agriculture since the 1880s - poor transportation and lack of a dependable water supply.

Trucking, which proved much better than anything previously tried, could not sufficiently reduce the cost of freighting all those miles to reach a large market. The irrigtion systems developed since 1886 certainly improved the water availability, but in no way supplied the total need. Many areas remained without a reliable source, even for domestic purposes. The pinto beans, which for a while seemed to be the solution to a marketable dry farm crop, did not prove to be the complete savior. As interesting as dry land farming might appear,

irrigation offered more versatility and potential profit, despite its higher costs.

Thus, with the Montezuma Valley in its ninth decade of settlement, some problems have been solved, others only modified. The people have come and stayed, and to a degree they have mastered the land and climate. Development has never really lived up to the expectations of the 1880s or early twentieth century. Growth has been slow, though generally steady, reflecting the agricultural base. The words of the Montezuma Journal are as true today as when they were written back in April, 1888: "With cheerful hopes for the future..."

PART III
SOME MAJOR HISTORICAL SUBJECTS

"VALLEY OF THE RIVER OF SORROWS"

A REPORT ON FOUR MAJOR HISTORICAL TOPICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PRIMARY DOLORES PROJECT AREA DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE EXPEDITION, TOWNS OF BIG BEND AND MCPHEE, AND THE BEAVER CREEK MASSACRE

Duane A. Smith

Prologue

El Rio de Nuestras Senora de Dolores, the Spanish called it, River of Our Lady of Sorrows. To later Americans it was known simply as the Dolores River. For centuries the Indians called it home, but by the time the Europeans arrived they were gone. In the two centuries since that unheralded day, the Dolores Valley has been a microcosm of the passing frontier, and, later, the growth of the West. Success and failure characterize its history; it has known sorrows, as well as its share of joys. Across the valley moved the devoted Catholic padre, exploitative fur trapper, searching miner, determined cattleman, fugitive Ute, optimistic town builder, enthusiastic railroadman, hard-working farmer, and noisy logger. Each dug and plowed the land and chopped the trees, while the river rolled on. Now a dam is proposed to slow that river and flood a portion of that valley. This is a part of the historical record of what transpired there before the quiet reservoir waters creep in to cover it forever.

Early Historic Period and the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition

1776 - year of war, year of the Declaration of Independence, year of trial for the thirteen barely united colonies fighting against England, the world's greatest power. 1776 - year of the first recorded penetration of the Dolores Valley by Europeans. Neither event took much note of the other, but the two initiated a chain of reactions which, a century later, brought settlement to the valley, now part of the bustling United States.

Sante Fe languished a long way from the Atlantic coast, the scene of the fighting, and was literally part of another world - a world dominated by Spanish culture and the Catholic religion, both mellowed by contact with the Pueblo and other Indians who farmed and roamed the Rio Grande Valley. Compared to the revolutionary British colonies, New Mexico seemed unenlightened, tranquil, and submissive, the product of an earlier era. Isolated, economically retarded, militarily weak, sparsely populated, New Mexico took no part in the world war that grew out of the shots fired on the Lexington green that April morning a year earlier, even though mother country Spain reluctantly joined the struggle.

The Declaration of Independence was still unknown on the Rio Grande when, on a warm July morning, a ten-man missionary exploring party headed by two Franciscans, Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Fray Francisco Silvestre Velez de Escalante, left Sante Fe. Their primary goal was to find a route to California and the missions being established there, especially Monterey (Chavez and Varner 1976).

Leaving Sante Fe on July 29, they traveled north to the little settlement of Abiquiu, then started angling northwest. Entering what became Colorado, the little party marched just south of today's Durango and north of Mancos before reaching El Rio de Nuestra Senora de Dolores, very near the present site of Dolores, on August 12. Here the party camped for two days to rest. Turning to their journal:

> On the 13th we made camp, both to allow the padre (Dominguez had caught a bad cold) to improve some more in order to go ahead, and to take a bearing on the polar elevation of this site and meadow of El Rio de los Dolores, where we found ourselves. The bearing was taken by the sun, and we saw that we were at 38° 13 1/2' latitude. Here there is everything that a good settlement needs for its establishment and maintenance as regards irrigable lands, pasturage, timber and firewood. Upon an elevation on the river's south side, there was in ancient times a small settlement of the same type as those of the Indians of New Mexico,

> as the ruins which we purposely inspected show. Padre Fray Francisco Atanasio got better, and we decided to continue our journey the following day.
>
> On the 14th we set out from the meadow and Rio de Dolores toward the north, and after a quarter league of travel we continued northwest for one league and to the northwest by west for five leagues over a rather troublesome stretch of sagebrush...(Chavez and Warner 1976:14).

Here Dominguez and Escalante left the part of the Dolores Valley under discussion. They were far from finished; their journey would take them deep into Utah (but never to California) before they were thwarted by the oncoming winter, the unknown distance yet to go, and the ruggedness of the terrain. They returned to Santa Fe on January 2, 1977, having traveled over 1700 miles.

Dominguez and Escalante had not accomplished what they set out to do. No road followed their wandering path, far short as it was of California, and no missions were planted in the land they passed through. They had little enough time even to spread the faith to the Indians they visited, primarily Utes in Colorado. For these reasons, the expedition is regarded as a failure.

However, these men had penetrated a vast, unknown region, the earliest known European exploration of parts of Colorado, Utah, and Arizona. Their daily journal remains the first written description of the area they crossed and the people they visited. They managed this without conflict with the people they visited. For these reasons Dominguez and Escalante deserve the accolade historian Herbert Bolton gave to their exploit: "one of the most notable explorations" in North American history (Chavez and Warner 1976). That no missions followed in their wake was not their fault; conditions in New Mexico had deteriorated, Spain's power declined, and the missionary efforts dropped accordingly.

Dominguez and Escalante had spent only a short time in the Dolores Valley, yet they correctly forecast its potential. It had "everything" needed for a "good settlement." Time and circumstances had not yet coalesced sufficiently for that to happen.

The days from Dominguez and Escalante to permanent American settlement in the Dolores River Valley covered one century. The difference between the two periods was startling, from horse to railroad and from colony to nation, but the changes in the valley were hardly noticeable. The Spanish and Mexicans had left little of permanence on their later trading expeditions; neither had the fur

trappers who tramped up the valley to trap beaver in the San Juans.

Early Settlement and Homesteading, The Town of Big Bend, and The Beaver Creek Massacre

Far to the east, beyond the crest of the Continental Divide, the discovery of gold in 1858 and the Pike's Peak gold rush of 1859 foretold changes. As early as 1860-61, prospectors ventured into the park where Silverton would one day be and which sat only a couple of mountains away from the Dolores River. Isolation, Ute hostility, and too-small gold pockets ended that excitement, though not the interest in the San Juans as a potential mining region.

In 1869 prospectors actually moved up the Dolores River, to what became Rico (Dolores News 8128-9/23/1879). Another decade passed, however, before this mining region got a permanent start. These first men no doubt panned a little in the river near the site of the future town of Dolores. Discouraged by scarce mineral indications in the pan or on land, they moved on and the mining frontier bypassed this portion of the valley.

Thanks to the mining frontier, however, settlement did come at last. Miners and mining camps provided a lucrative market for agricultural products, from hay and vegetables to meat. In their scramble for riches, miners wasted none of their own time in raising crops; they had the money to pay others for supplies, a tempting opportunity for ranchers and farmers to exploit.

Ranchers were the first to settle permanently on the site of the future Dolores dam and reservoir, arriving about 1877, according to the best available information (Dillon 1908). The area was then part of La Plata County; not until 1889 would it be separated to become Montezuma County (Paxson 1906). Few spots were more isolated - from the rest of the county, from the neighboring mining districts, and from the whole state. This remained a fact of life until the coming of the railroad in the 1890s. Even with some promotion of the "fine, fertile" valley and the "most magnificent" water courses, the Dolores region failed to attract much interest (Fossett 1879:538). As the Dolores News, September 11, 1879, forecast, it awaited "...the slow march of population and capital to the west..." The wait proved to be a frustrating one.

An ambitious project was quickly proposed. The Dolores, Lost Canon and Montezuma Ditch Company hoped to start irrigation in the region in 1878 (Rocky Mountain News 1/24/1878). Neither settlement, transportation, nor financial resources warranted such development; the project died almost on the planning board. Like other

Coloradans of their generation, these early Dolores residents thought big.

Gradually a small hamlet appeared at one of the sweeping bends of the river, not a planned settlement, simply a concentration of people who chose to group together. It assumed the name Big Bend or "The Bend" (Taylor Interview, CWA) although the post office was first known as Dolores and was originally located at a local ranch in April 1878 (Fig. 5). Settlement proceeded slowly; in addition to its isolation, the area was continually threatened by Ute Indians who roamed into the valley to hunt and camp from their reservation just to the south.

Mrs. S.O. Morton, whose husband George became a prominent local merchant, recalled the trials. She and her family came over from Costilla County in 1880, and her initial reaction was anything but good. "To me it did not look like a favorable location for a home so far from what had been my home." They purchased forty acres and started to build a store but gave up and returned to their former home when winter approached. Indian troubles prevented their return to Big Bend for two years. When the situation appeared to be more favorable, they returned and established a general merchandise store (Morton, n.d.). Told that the railroad would reach the settlement within a year, the Mortons and their neighbors were doomed to a decade of disappointment.

The Indian troubles Mrs. Morton described dogged the early history of Big Bend, delaying settlement and tarnishing the region's reputation. Investors would not go where "savages" still lurked. All this land had once belonged to the Utes, who lost title to it after the Meeker massacre and Ute troubles of 1879. The miners never wanted the Utes as neighbors, nor did the ranchers down the valley. "The Utes Must Go" was a familiar cry. They finally went, but not far. Trouble brewed between the "cowboys" and the Utes in the early 1880s, when the whites blamed the Indians for stealing horses, slaughtering cattle, and making a general nuisance of themselves. Albert Puett, resident of the Dolores Valley, wrote the Durango Record as early as May 16, 1881, to complain about Ute depredations and plead, "Take them bodily from us..." Neither side was blameless, and the result of this cultural clash was the tragedy known as the Beaver Creek Massacre.

Tension and friction which had been building for several years exploded on June 19, 1885, when a group of Utes was attacked at the mouth of Beaver Creek. The immediate trouble had been brewing for some weeks. The commanding officer of Fort Lewis, a day's ride from the Dolores, had been sending and receiving dispatches regarding possible Indian trouble. Most of the pressure for action by military came from Durango, the region's largest community. It wanted the Utes confined to their reservation, which happened to pass within four

miles of the town (District of New Mexico 1885). Neither the army nor civilian authorities could subdue the hostilities that had been accumulating for too long.

Six Utes - men, women and children - were killed in the daybreak attack by some "white scoundrels," as reported by the Ute agent. The Utes and their agent maintained that the party was a peaceful one; not so, counter-charged the settlers. Apprehension over the attack and the killings lingered for years. Mrs. Howard Porter remembered it as "not a thing to talk of" in those days because of fear of government and Indian reprisals. Years later she called it an "unfortunate affair," an apt description (Stollsteimer 1885).

The commander of Fort Lewis immediately dispatched troops to the site, accompanied by Ute Indian police, Agent Stollsteimer, and Ute leaders. Other patrols went out to reassure panicky settlers that a general outbreak was not imminent. The revenge killing of a settler and the serious wounding of his wife by a group of Utes put everyone on edge. Settlers in the Dolores Valley fled to the Porter ranch, which contained a stone barn, and other stockmen gathered at Narraguinnep Spring some twenty miles away, where they hastily threw together a log "fort."

The harassed commander of Fort Lewis, Col. P.T. Swaine, received calls for protection from as near as Mancos and as far as Bluff, Utah. He politely, but firmly, declined Colorado Governor Benjamin Eaton's offer to send state troops. Even the Denver press was aroused over the Ute "outbreak." Swaine spent a difficult two weeks checking out rumors, calming Ute fears, and putting out "brush fire" reports that a general Indian war had commenced. His coolness did much to avert that very thing. By early July the panic had subsided and settlers were returning to their homes. Patrols stayed in the field to assure them of the army's continued presence (Swaine 1885). Now only the recriminations remained.

Settlers who had spent uneasy nights sleeping in the brush away from their cabins or huddled together in makeshift camps were in no mood to listen to discussions of who caused what and why; they wanted the Utes removed from their southern reservations. The local newspapers supported their demands. Editorial comments bristled with anger. Rico's Dolores News, June 27, 1885, shouted in support: after all the Indian outrages, "...it is no wonder the cowmen took the method they did, and they can only be censured for failing to notify the neighboring settlers..." The editorial in that issue considered the question, "Ought Squaws to be Killed?" It concluded that because they practiced torture and were far more bloodthirsty than the bucks, nothing wrong took place. Editor and publisher Charles Jones harkened back to a similar earlier "battle" and wrote,

> The motto of the frontiersman is, and ought to be 'Shoot to kill and spare nothing.' On that famous and blessed day for Colorado when the Sand Creek fight occurred, Chivington drew up his men in line and said, 'Men, I have no order to give as whom to kill, or whom not to kill: remember our murdered wives and children.' It is the only sensible way to deal with them...(Dolores News, 6/27/1885).

Durango's The Idea was hardly less vitriolic, although it called for severe punishment of the white men who instigated the trouble, not because they killed the Utes, but because they failed to warn nearby settlers. "This paper will do as much and risk as much as anybody who hires fighting done, to put down the Indian curse in this country. The Indian atrocities must be stopped." In an extra edition, Tuesday, June 23, the paper got to the heart of the matter in an emotional outburst: "The progressive white people and the lousey, greasy Indians cannot occupy this country together." William May, Dolores rancher and county commissioner, concurred in a a letter to The Idea: "...every man to defend his person and property and to shoot every Indian that may be found in the country, no matter what his business may be (The Idea 6/27/1885).

Having thus expressed themselves, the editors and letter writers calmed down, and other topics diverted their attention. The Idea took one parting shot on July 4, however:

> Another policy of this paper is to kill every Ute Indian who commits a depredation if it is necessary to follow the red brutes to the door of the agency or the shadow of the dome of the national capitol and to kill every Indian...(The Idea 7/4/1885).

One wonders why the newspapers took such a strong position on a minor incident in a generally ignored part of Colorado. Obviously, the old idea that the Utes should go played a prominent role. No one cared where they went, just so they did. Greed and fear stirred trouble, as did cultural differences. Explanations aside, the outbreak damaged the local image and adversely affected investment. Back on June 27, The Idea had clearly stated: "The recent trouble has given us a black eye for the years, and the injury that the advertisement abroad will give us is incalculable." Nor was there much love for those who took the Utes' part; in all, it was a typical western reaction to a white/Indian confrontation.

Who was to blame for this deplorable affair? Southwestern Coloradans blamed the government's Indian policy and the Utes. Agent Stollsteimer defended the government's role and lamented "the foul

murder" with these words: "An Indian is hardly considered a human being by a certain class of Whites with which this part of the country is disgraced. There can be no excuse for this foul crime, and it will always be a foul blot upon the reputation of this country (The Idea 6/27/1885).

Stollsteimer was right; the cowboys, never really identified, caused the trouble. Swaine pointed out, however, that the government's ration policy of only one pound of beef and 3-1/2 pounds of flour per week per head of a Ute family had forced the Indians off the reservation to hunt. This was most likely what the Utes were doing when they were attacked, and it probably helps account for the reports of cattle being killed. Swaine, who called the attack "most barbarous," also laid the blame on the cowboys (Swaine 1885). The Utes did not go, and their relations with their neighbors did not improve. The hostility declined over the years and the Beaver Creek massacre was soon forgotten, despite Stollsteimer's statement to the contrary.

Big Bend returned to normal after the massacre. Even with so much activity centered just a few miles from it, the settlement never attracted much attention from any of the newspapers. Colorado conducted a state census that same year, but the census takers completely over-looked the Big Bend district. This was not unusual; the federal census takers had not appeared in 1880, and not until 1890 did they count the Dolores precinct. In any case, only residents of the valley were listed; Big Bend was completely overlooked.

Such neglect was undeserved. A small settlement slowly grew in the eighties, as evidence by its business district. Crofutt's Grip Sack Guide of 1881 listed one store, called a trading post, which supplied the needs of the people, whose chief occupation was stock raising. The two general merchandise stores of 1884 had become three by 1887, joined by a blacksmith, feed stable, and a saloon. By 1891, the last year of its existence, Big Bend could claim a hotel, sawmill, office of land and canal company and a meat market, while the number of general merchants had slipped to two (Crofutt 1881; Ives Publishing Co. 1884-1891). Unlike the neighboring mining camps which sometimes boomed and busted in a season or two, Big Bend reflected the steadier, slower pattern of agricultural growth. All evidence supports the conclusion that perhaps slightly more than 100 people lived in and around the community at its peak; the rest of the trade came from adjoining farmers and ranchers. The only time the number may have gone significantly higher was at the time a canal was being built in 1886-88 to take water from the Dolores over to the neighboring Montezuma Valley.

Life at Big Bend was generally tranquil. Community activities, particularly Christmas celebrations, centered at the school house. Church services, conducted by itinerant ministers, were held there as well. Mary Blake, who went to Big Bend in 1885, remembered dancing as the favorite amusement. These lively evenings highlighted the "social season." Occasionally a cowboy would get drunk and shoot out some of the kerosene bracket lamps, which glowed softly over dances and church services. Except for the momentary excitement, Mary seemed unperturbed (Blake Interview, CWA).

Mrs. W.R. Ordway pictured life as "primitive but comfortable." Mrs. Morton remembered one snow-bound winter when foodstuffs ran short, and a real crisis when tobacco dwindled. That shortage "seemed to hit the hardest." Fred Taylor, a hardy rancher and sheepman, recollected the election spree of 1883, which involved a "great deal of drinking," with cowboys lying drunk beside the road, unable to return home (Ordway Interview, CWA).

One of the major problems Big Bend could never overcome was its isolation. Trails went out to Durango, Rico, and south and west into the ranching country. They tested the tempers of the users - the one to Rico reportedly crossed the Dolores River fifty-six times in fewer than fifty miles, all unbridged. The increased time and costs involved in shipping supplies over these trails were evident in the prices of goods. In the fall enough provisions had to be freighted from Durango, the nearest railhead, to last the snow-locked winter months. Only pack horses came through then, and sometimes nothing was able to conquer the drifts. No community could hope to mature with such tenuous transportation; Big Bend was doomed unless it could be improved. Winter prices increased even more, especially when shortages occurred.

Agnes Lupke told of carrying her butter and eggs to sell at Harris' store to supplement the family income. By the 1890s Harris Brothers had become the most prosperous store in town, and Ohio-born John and his brother Andrew the leading citizens. Agnes spoke, too, of the arduous trips to Rico to sell corn, hogs, and vegetables to a community eager for fresh items. These infrequent trips resulted in their returning with supplies purchased from Rico's wider selection and larger business district (Taylor Interview, CWA). Trapping supplemented incomes in the winter during the early years, until it nearly exterminated the local animal supply. This enterprise accounts for the fur buyer who appeared in several of the business directories.

Pioneering at Big Bend was full of the same hard work, loneliness, disease, death, and heartache that accompanied the opening of any frontier. Facilities remained primitive throughout its existence.

For example, no doctor could afford to practice there; the solution, at least for a while, was for settlers on the Dolores to contribute a retainer for a Durango doctor to come when needed. The medical situation improved when Cortez was established in 1886 in the Montezuma Valley. Water funneled from the Dolores River made the valley boom as the Dolores Valley never did (Bryne 1962).

Big Bend's new rival soon surpassed it in every way. The land available for farming on the Dolores was severely circumscribed by the narrowness of the valley and the poor quality of the soil south of the town. While Cortez blossomed into a thriving, progressive farm community, Big Bend began to wither.

Time was running out for it, but it was not Cortez that delivered the coup de grace; the Rio Grande Southern Railroad did that. Rico, and Ophir and Telluride beyond, desperately needed railroad connecitons and were able to promise what Big Bend never could, a thriving market for shipments in and out. Otto Mears, San Juan road and railroad builder, matched the opportunity and plans; construction soon followed the survey. At last a railroad connection, but alas, the survey missed Big Bend by two miles up river. Why? "Owing to the topography and the unimportance" of Big Bend, the line went elsewhere. On Thanksgiving Day, 1891, track was laid as near as it would come and then looped up the valley. The first through train from Durango to Ridgeway puffed over the still-unfinished line on January 2, 1892 (Dolores Star 12/17/1909).

On that same Thanksgiving Day the construction crew laid track through the new townsite of Dolores. Big Bend had nothing to be thankful for; it had been betrayed by its friends, as well as the railroad. The new townsite was owned by railroad officials and the Harris brothers, among others. For the Harrises the step was not unexpected. They had come west to work for William Palmer, founder of the Denver and Rio Grande, and had followed construction of that road before moving to Big Bend. They knew what would happen to a railroad-bypassed community. And they were right. They were joined in the exodus by the entire Big Bend business community, which formed the nucleus of Dolores (Dolores Star 12/17/1909). The post office came with them, and by mid-summer, 1892, the older village had been gutted of businesses and residents. Big Bend had joined the ranks of might-have-beens, a promise that faded into the forgotten past. It found plenty of company, even in southwestern Colorado.

In the more than ten years of its existence, Big Bend had met the needs of its area. Bypassed by the railroad, it served no purpose. The community never fulfilled the expectations that motivated those first settlers who came slightly over a decade before. Isolation plagued it, growth never came, and investors shied away; more

attractive possibilities were always present to lure their money elsewhere. Neither local leadership nor resources could surmount these difficulties. The limited agricultural and range land failed to provide enough support for a thriving local economy. Big Bend was a community whose future never came. The site of the town soon reverted to a meadow. It was later farmed a little but eventually became unrecognizable as having supported a settlement. Such was the epitaph of Big Bend.

The coming of the Rio Grande Southern presaged a new era for the Dolores Valley, one of rapid transportation and connections with the rest of Colorado and beyond. Ranchers and farmers found new markets opening to them, and supplies could be shipped and received with ease. Dolores grew and assumed the role that Big Bend had hoped to win.

Homesteaders moved into the northwesterly bending valley, settling where the earlier hamlet had once been. Some of the pioneer settlers sold out, replaced by optimistic newcomers. Although the railroad's arrival improved some aspects, it did not help the soil; this segment of the valley could not keep pace with neighboring Cortez or the richer land above Dolores in farm productivity.

The Town of McPhee

In the 1920's industry came to the valley and brought a major change in its cultural profile. The nearby mountains harbored valuable stands of western yellow pine, and lumbermen saw profits if it could be logged, milled, and transported to market. When nearby New Mexico forests showed signs of being logged out of their profitable timber, attention turned to southwestern Colorado. In January, 1924, the U.S. Forest Service announced a sale of four million board feet in Montezuma National Forest. The New Mexico Lumber Company, leaser of adjacent holdings, successfully bid on the timber and then turned to the task of locating its mill (Chappell 1971:145-146).

The mill site selected was five miles from Dolores on the west side of the river. By the end of February crews began arriving from the soon-to-be-abandoned mining community of El Vado, New Mexico, to start work on the new camp. Surveyors, engineers, grading crews, carpenters, and others showed up in the weeks that followed, not only to build the town but also to survey and grade a railroad route and lay tracks from the Rio Grande Southern at Dolores (Chappell 1971:147). So much activity was unprecedented in this part of the valley, and it generated excitement throughout the Dolores-Cortez region.

It was estimated that it would take eighteen to twenty years to complete the lumbering operation; once the tracks were completed, work accelerated. Some buildings were transported from El Vado, others constructed on the site. As the town emerged, other crews were establishing logging camps in the timber, and rails stretched out to reach them. Meanwhile, the work at the mill continued unabated in order to have everything nearly complete by the time the logs arrived. The goal was not quite reached when the first log train arrived on September 29. Not until late October was the mill ready, and then it would be more than a month before all the "bugs" were worked out and full operation could begin (Chappell 1971:147).

During these first months of the New Mexico Lumber Company's operation the valley was a beehive of activity. A town was established, and the all important mill constructed. Some discussion ensued about a name; Ventura and Escalante were suggested before McPhee was finally chosen. The community was named for William McPhee, one of the company's owners.

The Dolores Star watched all this activity and eventually ran a McPhee column. The Rio Grande Southern was busier than it had been since the early 1890s. McPhee was a company town (Fig. 6) owned and operated by New Mexico Lumber. It spread out beyond the mill at a beautiful, wide spot in the valley. The site had been selected because of its proximity both to the forests (Figs. 7 and 8) and the railroad. For the next two decades it served as home for the workers and company officials. In August the company-owned store opened and advertised itself as "ready to supply your wants" and pay "top prices" for farmers' produce. A school was started that fall, and the first "good old fashioned" charivari saluted newlyweds (Dolores Star 8/1, 9/5, 10/17, and 11/14/1924). The social whirl had reached McPhee. When winter arrived, McPhee was a going concern.

The 1920s were generally prosperous years for New Mexico Lumber. After the initial troubles in the mill operation had been resolved, the plant ran smoothly and claimed to be the largest in Colorado. In the spring of 1925 the company reported 41 miles of narrow gauge track running from McPhee to the sites of logging operations (Fig. 7). The trackage advanced and receded as new areas opened and older areas closed.

The 1920s may have roared in the large metropolitan areas, but McPhee mostly displayed traits of small-town nineteenth century America, modernized to some degree by the radio and current fads. There being no church building, Sunday School was held in the school, as were the PTA meetings, Eventually a Catholic church was built, but the Protestant residents had to be content with an itinerant minister. One of these men put his finger on a fact of life at McPhee, "... there is in a place like this an ever-changing population."

Loggers and workers moved in and out of the region, as they did in other logging areas; there was nothing unusual about this, but it did tend to undermine community efforts.

In August, 1926, McPhee was featured in the Dolores Star, along with photographs of the mill town, and logging train. The underlying theme of the article was how proud the people of Dolores were of McPhee and that they felt it had become part of their community. At this time approximately 350 men were on the payroll of New Mexico Lumber, the largest employer in the area, and McPhee had an estimated population of 800. The company had branched out by then to include a coal mine in its operations. Located beside the railroad tracks leading to its Beaver Creek camp, the mine produced about twenty tons per day, all consumed by the company operations (Dolores Star 3/13/1926).

In these days of prosperity the New Mexico Company proved to be a generous benefactor. Its community spirit was displayed in the "modern well equipped" school and church buildings it provided. The annual company picnic and the McPhee baseball team showed commendable spirit. The company also furnished homes with electric lights, even if they had to be turned out at ten when the generating plant shut down for the night. For two dollars a month for married, a dollar for single men, the company furnished a doctor and dispensary for workers and townspeople.

Charles Artz, long time McPhee resident and company official, reminisced about his years there. The employees received forty percent of their wages in scrip, that being the amount estimated for living expenses per month, plus rent. The remainder was paid in cash. The thin, coin-shaped metal scrip was intended for use in the company-owned store, or commissary, as it was called. The employees were charged cost plus ten percent. What goods were not available there were generally ordered from Montgomery-Ward (McClellan 1966).

The housing available to the workers varied. The Mexican-American employees rented small homes constructed of unfinished lumber for five dollars per month. The larger and more modern Anglos' homes rented for ten dollars. Both had electricity. Tacit segregation put the Mexican-Americans in their own section west of the mill, called "Chihuahua" or simply the Mexican sector. In the early days of McPhee some Penitente activity apparently occurred, having come directly from El Vado, where the movement had been quite strong (McClellan 1966). Religious activity, however, centered primarily around the Catholic church, completed in 1929.

Although the twenties generally evidenced prosperity, signs of recession appeared as the decade neared an end. In 1928, William

McPhee sold his stock to John Zalaha, who had ambitious plans that included new railroad lines and more production. A year later Zalaha, backed by Chicago investors, purchased the entire company stock and assumed sole ownership. Unfortunately, his plans collapsed soon after the stock market failure ushered in the depression. The mill closed, Zalaha defaulted on his payments, and the original owners regained control in November, 1930. This reversion could not save the faltering operation and the New Mexico company slipped into receivership in the hands of the International Trust Company. Not until 1932 was it sold and the mill reopened in August of that year (Dolores Star 6/7/29, 11/14/30, 1/1/31/, 6/10 and 8/19/32).

The economic morass of the early 1930s was certainly the primary contributor to the end of the McPhee operation. However, the company also found to its dismay that large stands of the timber it had purchased proved too sparse for profitable cutting. Gradual changes in the railroad rates wiped out the advantages McPhee once enjoyed in shipping and closed much of the market. When the depression hit, all these deterrents proved to be too much. The McPhee plant closed and people began to move away.

With the resumption of logging, the population, which had dipped under 500, slowly started to climb again, reaching an estimated 1400 residents in 1940-1941. So great was the demand for jobs that when the mill reopened in 1932 the Dolores Star, August 19, warned readers that only limited numbers of men were needed and preference would be given to former employees. That failed to stem the tide, and the town was "flooded with men seeking employment."

Not until 1935, after a reorganization under the federal bankruptcy law and a name change to the Montezuma Lumber Company, did McPhee take on its former appearance. From then until World War II prosperity prevailed. An astonished 1940 visitor said, "A person would have to see the operation with his own eyes to realize how much lumber they really put out in a day's time (Chappell 1971:165).

A few changes came during the 1930s. In July, 1933, the railroad logging came to an end, replaced by trucks; the branch from McPhee to Dolores continued to operate and was used for years by McPhee residents to travel to Saturday night movies and dances. In 1939 the company endured a brief strike, which ended with a complete victory for management when it shut down the entire facility after the mill workers struck. The non-union loggers, who deplored their loss of pay, put enough pressure on the mill workers, according to Artz, that the latter voted to leave the union. Thus ended the strike (Gomez 1974; Dolores Star 7/7/1933).

Chris Gomez, who worked at McPhee during these years, described it in this manner, "I hope that I never have to go back to the lumber business." The wages, he joked, seemed too low for the twelve hours "they gave you" to do a day's work. Yet as he pointed out, the mill was a good place for the uneducated to work - it was "either this or herd sheep." Accidents happened all too frequently; unfortunately, workers had to be laid up more than ten days before they could collect compensation. Also, any breakdown of longer than fifteen minutes were repaired on the workers' time and lost hours had to be made up. "You worked because you had to," said Gomez, "and you earned your wages" (Gomez 1974).

The mill produced "box shook" (precut boards for boxes), material for sash and door factories, railroad ties, and lumber for construction. One thing which hurt McPhee, as Gomez saw it, was the fact that the lumber was handled too many times from tree to finished product.

Despite such problems, the company's future looked promising in mid-1941. Government contracts to supply wartime needs gave it a new lease on life. A spectacular fire on June 30, which gutted the sawmill, ended that possibility. A loss estimated at over $150,000 put the company in dire straights. The promised rebuilding did not materialize, and when a second fire on June 19, 1942, burned the machine shop, the Montezuma Lumber Company seemed to be jinxed. It continued to operate by diverting to smaller sawmills along the Rio Grande Southern tracks. As a result, McPhee played a much less important role in the total operations.

A shortage of labor further hindered company efforts, as higher-paying war industries lured workers away. The "McPhee News" column in the *Star* reported that many families were moving out and only a few were moving in to replace them. But the town's patriotism did not lag. This tidbit appeared in the Star, October 30, 1942:

> Boys, did you know McPhee would help you join the Navy? If you have no means of transportation to the recruiting office in Durango call at the filling station and means of transportation will be furnished (Dolores Star 10/30/1942).

As World War II dragged to a close, McPhee took another fork in its history. In February, 1944, the town and logging operation were sold. The new owners promised far-reaching plans for the enterprise, but these did not include rebuilding the McPhee mill, and it was even hinted that the town might be abandoned. Neither proved to be true. A new mill was built, and McPhee became once more the center of the logging operation (Chappell 1971:165).

Such an encouraging turn of events did not alter the fact that time was running out for McPhee. The original estimate of eighteen to twenty years of logging had now passed. Had it not been for the period of non-work in the early thirties, the area's timber would have been nearly exhausted. The company still was impeded by the quality of that timber, not nearly so good as originally assumed. Indicating the waning importance of the community, the McPhee column disappeared as a semi-regular feature in the Dolores Star. Little news of any type about logging or the town found its way into the paper.

The end came in January, 1948, when the mill burned once more. That Monday, January 19, fire did an estimated $100,000 damage to machinery and buildings. Firemen from Dolores, Cortez, and McPhee managed to keep the flames from spreading, but as the Star said, "The loss is a serious blow...(to the company), to the men who are employed at the mill and to the community as well." Insurance covered only one-third of the value (Montezuma Valley Journal, 1/22/48).

The Montezuma Lumber Company decided not to rebuild, but to operate out of its smaller camps nearer the lumbering areas. Dolores became the headquarters of the company, doing to McPhee what it had earlier to Big Bend. The Star, February 6, laconically noted that the owners "...decided there was no point in keeping a plant going at McPhee any longer..." Once the decision was made they moved fast. Within weeks scrap from the burned mill had been sold, as had the railroad tracks from McPhee to Dolores. Several houses were moved to Dolores, along with some equipment. At the end of March the Star reported the demise of McPhee when the land on which the town stood was sold (Dolores Star) 2/16 and 3/26/1948). Several buildings still needed to be dismantled and/or relocated, but that came soon and the town disappeared. The post office was closed in July, 1948, just two months short of its twenty-fourth anniversary.

Lumbering was not finished in the area until 1976, but McPhee's role in it had ended. The pattern it had followed was typical of the earlier lumber operations, in New Mexico, for example. McPhee had been developed after other areas declined; it drew life from their death, to the point of transporting houses to the new site. Then, after its usefulness was past, the company abandoned McPhee, moving what buildings it needed and disposing of the remainder. Unlike Big Bend, the townsite is marked by cement foundations, the logging pond, and a small cemetery near the spot where the church once stood. In its day McPhee was a vital factor in the local economy and one of the most important logging operations in Colorado. The mill was one of the most modern for its time, the 1920s. As Chris Gomez mentioned, the mill did provide jobs for the unskilled and semi-skilled, and, after rebounding from the troubles in the early 1930s, was an important factor in supplying work during the depression (Gomez 1974).

There is no question that the majority of the workers were Spanish surnamed (Durango Democrat 1932:249-251). The staff, on the other hand, was Anglo. If racial trouble erupted, it was not mentioned, and the one strike seemed to have no racial overtones.

The story of McPhee is the story of logging operations throughout the West. That it occurred in the twentieth century does not mean that the pattern was significantly different from the nineteenth. The one main difference was the introduction and use of cars and trucks to replace horses and trains. The fact that McPhee was a company town is not unusual, and it did not display some of the worst aspects of the more isolated communities of this type. McPhee was located within a few miles of several other communities, and to its credit, the company did not insist on paying its employees solely in scrip which could be used only at the company store. Like other lumbering communities, McPhee's population was transitory and, even in the prosperous days of the 1920s, much of the local news involved the migration of people in and out of town.

McPhee's passing was scarcely noticed on the state scene, just as its development had been only sketchily followed. Situated in Colorado's southwest corner, neither it nor the region was considered newsworthy. Although appreciated locally, McPhee languished in the larger arena. When the end came, McPhee was only briefly mourned, even by its neighbors, who were caught up in the rush of fast-changing, post-war America.

Part IV
A BRIEF VIEW OF HOMESTEADING IN THE PRIMARY PROJECT AREA WITH A TEST MODEL OF THE BASIC HOMESTEADING PERIODS

Steven G. Baker

As earlier discussed by Duane Smith, the Dolores Valley was first settled by stockmen and farmers who were providing supplies to the mines at Rico. Although the country still formally belonged to the Ute Indians, ranchers had begun to settle in the area by about 1877. The first settlement was at Big Bend which was also known as the original Dolores. Troubles with the Utes complicated the early settlement of the area and were climaxed in June of 1885 when local settlers killed several Indians on Beaver Creek. Western Colorado had officially been opened up to white settlement in 1881 when the Utes were formally removed or placed on the Southern Ute Reservation near the Dolores Valley. Prior to that time settlement had been illegal except in the mining areas which had previously been ceded to the whites. Thus, the early settlement of the area commenced as infringement of the Ute reservation. If similar to other areas of western Colorado, the best lands along the Dolores had probably been settled before or soon after the Ute removal in 1881 (Baker 1977, 1978f). Patent dates for land in the project area do not begin until the latter 1880s but most of these tracts were probably settled in the late 1870s or very early 1880s. This time is known as the first Period of Homesteading and involved the best agricultural lands, primarily in the river bottoms (Fig. 9). Homesteads taken up in this period seem to have been successful and many have survived as working operations to the present day (Smith 1978).

During the 1880s Big Bend grew in size until it reached a popultion of perhaps 100 in about 1890. The town was the supply and service center for a growing agricultural populace. The Dolores Valley was always isolated but more and more people seem to have entered the area after the Ute hostilities were resolved. Ultimately Cortez became the focal point in the local community and surpassed Big Bend as a service center. In 1891 the railroad entered the area but missed Big Bend by two miles. In order to be near the railroad, residents of Big Bend moved the town to the present site of Dolores, two miles to the south. Subsequently, Big Bend rapidly passed out of existence (Smith 1978).

A new period of homesteading which is referred to as the Second Period (Fig. 9) was ushered in after the turn of the century and was spurred both by the excitement over dry land farming (Smith 1978:12) and the expanded national markets for agricultural commodities made

available by the local railroad and an urbanizing nation which was at war. By the late 1910s the Second Period of homesteading was well underway and seems to have involved settlement of more marginal ground away from the major river bottoms. Homesteads taken up in the Second Period seem to have had a poor survival rate in times of stress, such as the Depression years, when compared to the better situated homesteads.

Even with Duane Smith's historical studies contained herein, the history of homesteading is still very poorly understood in the project area, but it is expected that the area witnessed generally profitable periods from about 1900 to the end of World War I, when many areas of the west suffered a depression due to the cutback in markets for agricultural products which attended the end of the war. As indicated in Figure 9 the second homesteading period died soon after the war.

A Third Period of homesteading peaked in the 1930s when further attempts were made to farm very marginal dry upland environments. As shown in Figure 9, patents for tracts of this period were mostly granted between 1936 and 1940. Smith pointed out that the region saw an influx of homesteaders who lacked jobs or else fled dustbowl conditions in the midwest (Smith 1979:17) during the active years of the Depression. Part of this rush can also probably be attributed to technological developments which made it possible to undertake dryland farming in the area. In many instances these homesteads seem to have died out in the 1960s, perhaps as part of the nationwide decrease in the small family farm and the rise of agribusiness.

A Fourth Period in the regional homesteading commenced after World War II and resulted in a minor but steady series of land patents that did not really fall off until after 1960. This period is associated with the sudden increase in manpower after the war and the BLM Land Purchase Act of 1948. This period marked the close of the free land tradition which, as a major force in American history, had actively commenced with the Land Act of 1796. It thus hallmarks the termination of the free land movement in Colorado and probably correlates with the termination of the movement in the lower 48 states. There currently are not enough data available to know what happened to the traditions but it is strongly suspected that the small holdings depended on pinto bean farming and were eventually absorbed into the larger land holdings of the agribusiness trend.

The four basic periods of the local homesteading tradition can be analyzed and described in detail with a combined program of documentation and oral historical research and historical archaeological studies. Once this is done it should be possible to consider cultural patterning and change on a significant scale for the total Dolores Project area. In terms of the land use continuum

approach being used by the prehistoric portions of the Dolores Project, such studies should be extremely revealing and can very nicely compliment the historic efforts. The model outlined herein is only the basic skeleton and is a provisional interpretation based on analysis of only 122 patents. It will take analysis of an estimated 500 more patents and much additional work to really understand the homesteading tradition in the area. Until it is tested against the additional data it is possible that this initial model is wrong and that cultural resource evaluations which are geared to it may be in error. This model is then only offered as a provisional starting point for additional work.

PART V
CULTURAL RESOURCE SUMMARIES, EVALUATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

An Overview of Historic Cultural Resources Located During 1978

An intensive archaeological survey inventoried 12 historic sites in the approximately 2,000 acres of the four first-year impact areas investigated during 1978 (Table 3). In addition to these resources, two additional sites were entered into the historic site inventory and recorded in preliminary manner. These were the townsites of Big Bend (5MT4572) and McPhee (5MT4571) which will be further recorded and evaluated in 1979. The other 12 historic sites are agricultural homesteads, with the exception of one recent sheepherder's camp (5MT4563) and a footbridge (5MT4570). As will be summarized, these homesteads represent four different homesteading periods that date as early as the 1880s and as late as the 1950s. All together these sites constitute part of an important resource base for historical archaeological studies of the history and evolution of the American homesteading tradition in western Colorado.

Table 3. Historic Sites Inventoried in 1978

Site Number	Name	Type	Date
*			
5MT4560	Skunk Site	Homestead	3rd Period
5MT4561	Storage Shed Site	Homestead	3rd Period
5MT4562	Cistern Homestead	Homestead	2nd Period
5MT4563	Sheep Camp		Contemporary
5MT4564	Auto Homestead	Homestead	2nd Period
5MT4565	Anonymous Homestead	Homestead	1st Period
5MT4566	Periman Place	Homestead	1st Period
5MT4567	Lucero Place	Homestead	1st Period
5MT4568	Jackson Place	Homestead	1st Period
5MT4569	Anonymous	Homestead	1st Period
5MT4570	Footbridge	Bridge	20th Century
5MT4677	Tractor Site	Homestead	4th Period
**			
5MT4571	McPhee	Town/mill	20th Century
5MT4572	Big Bend	Townsite	1st Period

* First-year Impact Areas
** Other Areas

The Philosophy Used in Evaluating the Resources and Dealing with National Register Eligibility

Scope of Work and Research Design

The original scope-of-work for the historical studies called for evaluation of resources to be made in terms of their "significance and potential for understanding the history of the area (U.S. Bureau of Reclamation 1978:8.1.4.1.)." Although the scope-of-work did not mention it, it later became apparent that the Bureau also desired to have the historical resources evaluated in terms of National Register Eligibility.

In order to accomplish these two goals it was first necessary to build a research design which would in actuality, rather than just in theory, utilize historical resources in really contributing to our understanding of the history and cultural development of the upper Dolores River region in the area from about Dolores to Cortez and Dove Creek to Towaoc (Baker 1978d). A research design was developed in order to meet the requirements of the scope-of-work and the sites inventoried in 1978 were first individually evaluated in regard to their potential to contribute within this research design (Baker 1978c, 1979).

The research design which was submitted to the Bureau was not greatly detailed and did not contain a particular set of hypotheses to be tested. Although usually considered in most contemporary research designs, such an approach was not really appropriate in terms of the Dolores Project area. This is due to the fact that there is virtually no literature on the history and archaeology of homesteading in western Colorado. There is, in short, no formalized baseline date which can be used in formulating detailed research strategies. Although portions of the cultural patterns associated with homesteading are known today through oral history and actual survival of some cultural elements in the rural west, there has been very little effort directed toward formally recording the historical and cultural patterns. It is frequently suggested by laymen that "we know" the history of homesteading because an individual may have been born on a homestead or remembers the stories told by his grandfather who "took up" land after the Utes were removed. Such views have led to a common but naive assumption in both the lay public and general archaeological and historical communities that the subject is well recorded. However, if one looks for published literature on the subject he will be very disappointed. Althought the subject of homesteading has frequently been considered by historians at a wide, general regional and national level, the literature on Colorado and the Rocky Mountain Region is particularly empty in terms of formal discussion of cultural patterns and details of the traditions. This

fact, in turn, is reflected in the historical archaeology so that no homesteads have ever been reported on in the regional archaeological literature. As pointed out in this writer's intensive review on the archaeology of Victorian America as it particularly related to Colorado (Baker 1978e), the archaeological study of homesteading and ranching has only barely gotten started. In terms of homesteading in Colorado, the profession's knowledge is at a point similar to that of the regional prehistory at the turn of the century.

The regional historical archaeology is thus in a basic data collection stage in which the gross attributes of settlement type and pattern, space utilization, environmental constraints, material culture taxonomies, and activity sets must be investigated and/or developed. Stanley South, a leading historical archaeologist, has addressed himself to this basic subject and his words are appropriate in this instance.

> Historical archaeologists are trying to meet this broader challenge, allowing a more penetrating view into some of the areas of past patterned human behavior than has hitherto been possible through dealing with the traditional archaeological materials. The historical archaeologist has an increasingly expanding responsibility to inquire beyond the mere validation of an historic site through correlation with documentary evidence; beyond merely listing the presence or absence of artifact types for establishing the temporal position of the sites; beyond the revealing of architectural features for the purpose of reconstruction and restoration; beyond exposing ruins for the entertainment of the visiting public to historic sites; and beyond the process of recovery and preservation of relics from the past hoarded into repositories and museums! His view must be as broad as the questions being asked by archaeologists, sociologists, anthropologists, ecologists, biologists, archaeo-parasitologists, and other scientists who are increasingly turning to historical archaeology to reflect some light on their special problems and spheres of interest. However, although historical archaeology is broadening its scope, the primary emphasis will continue to be in the area of material culture where so much must still be explored on the basic level of typology and stratigraphy in order to arrive at a better understanding, definition, and temporal position of artifacts of many types found on historical sites (South 1968:54).

The critical consideration at this time is that a generalized, region-wide research design has been operationalized by this writer and conforms to the wide scale archaeological research strategies advocated by Streuver (1968) as the basis for all good archaeological efforts. The Dolores historical archaeology studies can be very meaningfully integrated with other projects and contribute to a solid corpus of archaeological data from the general region of western Colorado. Although the other regional efforts of this writer are in an initial exploratory and data collecting stage, there are some basic needs and research orientations and questions which must be addressed in this stage of the historical archaeology efforts.

If historical archaeology is to validly and meaningfully define the basic material culture patterns locked up in historic sites, it must utilize quantitative methods such as advocated by Stanley South (1977a, 1979). In order to quantify material culture patterns a great many sites must be investigated on a technically high but selective level. The resource base must be investigated on a broad scale, a few so-called "representative" sites will not provide a sufficient data base. It will also take a long time to investigate enough sites to reach the required sample size. In short, the task is going to be difficult. It is however quite reasonable as a scientific goal and good progress can be made via such projects as the Dolores.

As an example, some of the strongest directions for contribution potential in the historic sites in the Dolores Project relate to the nature of agricultural homesteads dating to the first few decades of the twentieth century and earlier. There are different historical and probably cultural patterns in homesteading as this writer has suggested here and elsewhere (Baker 1976, 1977, 1978d). The Dolores Project has good sites of this category which can be investigated and used to contribute in several ways. These include documenting examples of this region's homesteads from various periods in time and entering the information into the quantitative sample. Historical archaeology is also interested in learning about many other points as well, such as: relationships between architectural styles and environment, artifact patterning and ratios on homestead sites, use of space in homesteads, and diverse other subjects which are latent within the general need to explore. What is the "layout" of a typical homestead in the Dolores Project area since no one has ever archaeologically reported on such an entity from the state of Colorado? When were the sites established? Why were they established? How did they evolve? Are there any differences in homesteads established by different ethnic groups? How do homesteads from the Dolores compare with homesteads from the Piceance Basin or the Uncompahgre Valley? How does one factually differentiate a root cellar from a semi-subterranean house? How do architectural styles and site patterns correlate with artifact ratios on different types of sites?

As pointed out, there are many basic questions which can reasonably be asked of the sites in the Dolores Project area. Until some baseline information is available on homesteading, it would be counter-productive to further consider all the possible combinations of questions that could justifiably be asked of historic sites in western Colroado. The variety of possible research designs can be appreciated if one reads Schuyler (1977) and/or South (1977b or 1979). As indicated in these works, no professional consideration has been given to large scale research designs for resources of the Victorian Era. This is mainly due to the fact that few archaeologists have gained any in-depth experience with the archaeology of Victorian America. Those who have seem to be approaching their work on either a very narrow scope or from a larger scale perspective such as that held by this writer. This latter group are all in the initial exploration and documentation/descriptive stage. In this writer's mind, the task for historical archaeology is clear and indicated for many years since not one of Colorado's large number of abandoned homesteads or "ghost towns" have ever been the subject of a published archaeological excavation report or even a journal article! For the moment, the need is to approach the historical resources in the Dolores Project area from a professional yet exploratory archaeological perspective which will accomplish the following basic goals:

1. Document the sites by good recording and description.
2. Make general comparisons of sites on the basis of the very limited data from other sites in other regions of the western United States.
3. Raise questions and refine problem orientation.
4. Attempt to answer the obvious questions from a general subjective and comparative historical and anthropological perspective.
5. Present quantified data from these sites and enter these in an accumulative quantified data base in a format intelligible and available to other researchers.
6. Offer preliminary quantified comparisons and explanations, raise further questions, and suggest fresh research approaches.
7. Complete and publish the results of these goals with a high level of professionalism and critical judgment. In this capacity the investigator must be acutely aware of the problem of redundancy and scholarly trivia which so frequently results in historical archaeology emerging as only a sophisticated form of antiquarianism or low level historical/anthropological scholarship.

Immediate Problem Orientation and Articulation of Evaluations and Recommended Fieldowrk to the Goals fo the Research Design

As indicated in the foregoing summary of the general research design (Baker 1978d), the common goal and first objective of

historical archaeology in the Dolores area should be to take the first pioneering steps in archaeologically investigating an entirely unexplored subject. We need to generate basic data in order to move beyond all but the most basic problem orientations. As outlined, such an exploratory perspective begins with good documentation of sites via good archaeological recording and description. With this data base, one can then move on to making comparisons with such sites from other regions and/or time periods and only then raise further questions and refine problem orientations. In documenting the sites, special emphasis needs to be placed on obtaining quantifiable data for use in longer range studies of artifact patterning from various site types and/or time periods. In this research design, the ultimate goal is, in short, to treat sites as holistic artifacts and then to seriate those of various types, such as homesteads. As part of the primary goal of archaeologically documenting these sites, the focus of the proposed fieldwork is, as previously stated, placed on obtaining details of spatial feature patterns from homesteads of various periods. Such mapping, when combined with architectural and use analysis of the features should shed light on environmental constraints and adaptation in the various evolutionary stages of homesteading in the Dolores area. Material culture studies will contribute in this area and should also enable the profession to develop basic material culture taxonomies and to isolate the attributes of various activity sets pertaining to homesteading in this region. Such information will be critical in developing quantified approaches to historical archaeological study. The problem orientations are therefore still quite basic and it would be foolish to attempt to move into deeper orientations at this time. The inventoried sites from the first-year impact areas are discussed herein along with recommendations for significance to this research design and proposed data retreival method. The actual site forms are appended as a second volume to this report. In addition to their significance to the research design, the sites are individually considered in terms of National Register Eligibility and collectively as a National Historic District. Before summarizing the resource base and recommendations it is necessary to present the philosophy used in evaluating the resources in terms of National Register Eligibility.

The Issue of National Register Eligibility

The sites from the first-year impact areas were individually and collectively evaluated in terms of the Criteria for National Register Eligibility only after first being evalauted in regard to the research design. As outlined by the National Park Service, the "National Register Criteria of Evaluation" are as follows:

> The quality of significance in American history architecture, archaeology, and culture is present in

districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects of State and local importance that possess integrity of location design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

1. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
2. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
3. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
4. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

(U.S. Park Service 1975)

Only three of the four criteria appear to be applicable in evaluation of the sites in the Dolores Project area since none of them appear to have been associated with particularly significant persons as provided for under Criterion Number 2.

Individually most of the sites from the Dolores Project area which may be eligible for the Register will be so eligible primarily under Criterion Number 4, and occasionally Numbers 1 or 3, depending on one's interpretation of the criteria. As pointed out by King, Hickman, and Berg (1977:98), scientific significance of archaeological sites usually hinges on Criteria Nubmers 1 and 4. There appears to be some controversy over the application of Criterion Number 1, but the implications for Criterion Nubmer 4 are more commonly agreed upon; specifically, that as an archaeological resource lacking association with significant persons, events, or overt characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction as embodied in Criteria Numbers 2 and 3, a site may still be capable of yielding information important in prehistory or history under Criterion Nubmer 4 (Baker 1978e). Meaningful contribution potential in historical archaeological inquiry is generally involved in the reference to history under Criterion Number 4. With this point in mind it is believed that some of the sites in the Dolores Project area may individually be eligible for the Register under Criterion Nubmer 4 at least. It is also felt that historic Euro-American archaeological sites may, in some instances, be eligible under Criterion Number 1 and/or Number 3.

In this capacity the homesteading tradition was a major and vital force in American history and it could be argued that it is a "broad pattern" as provided for under Criterion Number 1. Homesteading sites, while often lacking individual distinction, are significant and distinguishable entities embodying the distinctive characteristics of selected types and time periods in the American homesteading tradition. Thus it seems, in the writer's mind, at least, that homestead sites may be eligible for the Register under Criterion Number 3.

The preceding considerations coupled with the fact that the homesteading tradition is completely unstudied in Colorado serve as a basis for the individual site evaluations in this report. These individual evaluations are not, however, seemingly the most appropriate means of considering the historical resources in the Dolores Project area. In fact, individual determinations, by totally demanding or precluding mitigating strategies at various sites, could be extremely destructive of a resource base that is particularly important to the history of the state. Each site has varying levels of contribution potential and it is vital that these be liberated by allowing some professional discretion on the levels of mitigation to be undertaken at each site. For example, it would be tragic if full-blown mitigation efforts were always demanded at any site deemed eligible while limited but scientifically appropriate measures were never allowed at any sites which were individually deemed ineligible. Most of the homesteads in the Dolores Project area are capable of yielding some important information for historical archaeological studies of the region. In order to effectively liberate these potentials it must be possible to approach the resource base via a mitigation effort that is consistent with meaningful scientifically valid regional research designs. As will be discussed, the only such research design which is operative in the region is that proposed by this writer as part of the historical studies subcontract proposal (Baker 1978d). In order to couple the resource base to meaningful research designs via appropriate mitigation strategies, it is necessary to view the resources from the perspective of the archaeological district as originally done for the prehistoric resources in the Dolores Archaeological District.

The "National Register Resource Classifications" define a "district" as:

> A geographically definable area, urban or rural, possessing a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures or objects united by past events or aesthetically by plan or physical development. A district may also comprise individual elements reported geographically but linked by association or history (Derry, et al. 1977:6).

It is believed that a district approach will be the most appropriate method of effectively addressing the National Register Eligibility and research significance of the historic resources in the Dolores Project area. This can be accomplished by simply amending the original description of the Anasazi Archaeological District to include historical resources. As will be demonstrated in the following resource summary, the historic resources of the Dolores Archaeological District do exhibit cultural continuity within a general but definable geographical area. It also may be helpful to further consider modifications of the Anasazi Archaeological District in terms of a "Multiple Resource Nomination."

Site Descriptions and Evaluation

Agricultural Homestead Sites

First Period Homesteads from 1880s: Five First Period Homestead sites were located by the 1978 survey effort as indicated in Table 3; these were 5MT4565, 5MT4566, 5MT4567, 5MT4568, and 5MT4569.

- 5MT4565. This is Anonymous Homestead (Fig. 10), located in a tract which was patented in 1889 by Edward le Porter under the Land Act of 1820. There is very little surface evidence at this site and the only observed dateables were general household items which span a period from the 1930s into the late 1940s or early 1950s, and concrete foundations of two buildings. The site is covered in heavy tall grass and young trees so that the ground surface is hidden. General impressions suggest that concrete appeared in this area after the turn of the century and it is suspected that the site has an early homesteading component which witnessed a new construction phase early in the twentieth century and was abandoned by the 1950s. Other than land patent analysis, no historical research has been conducted specifically for this site. Interviews with local residents could probably reveal considerably more about this resource.

- Eligibility. No decision as to elibigility for the National Register can be made until some oral history and possible test excavations are completed at this site. It is, therefore, recommended that such efforts be implemented in order to provide data for making a decision since the site may be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion Number 4.

- Recommendations. Oral and archival historical research to further document the site should be completed. If the site then appears to offer meaningful data for historical archaeology, it should be subjected to an exploratory testing and selected excavation of features of potentially high informational content, such as domestic middens and privy vaults.

- 5MT4566. The Periman Place (Fig. 11-12) is located in a tract patented in 1890 by August Kuhlman under the Homestead Act of 1862. The site is currently occupied and has probably been occupied continuously since the land was patented. It has obviously witnessed a significant number of structural changes and alteration of activity areas. Two basic construction phases are evident. These are the original homesteading effort indicated by a small log cabin and a later phase involving construction of a larger and more substantial house in 1909. This house is constructed of concrete blocks which simulate cut stone. There are numerous barns and sheds on the place which relate to twentieth century activities. Other than the land patent analysis, no historical research has been conducted for this site. Oral history should, in particular, be instrumental in fleshing out the history and evolution of this site.

- Eligibility. The Periman Place may be eligible for the National Register under Criteria Numbers 3 and 4. The concrete block house is believed to embody the distinctive characteristics of the simulated "rock face" decorative styles which were widespread in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The site also may be eligible as an historical archaeological site since it is believed to illustrate the evolution of a regional variant of the homesteading tradition and is capable of producing archaeological data which could help document basic patterns in homestead design as well as cultural changes in agricultural homesteading. It is a good multicomponent homesteading site which, on a comparative basis with single component homestead sites in the area, should be very informative in historical archaeological studies.

- Recommendations. It is recommended that oral and archival historical research be conducted in order to help plan full fieldwork potentials. The site should be mapped in detail and a general photo and drawing record should be made for all buildings on the site with the exception of the main concrete block house and the original log house. These should be subjected to a more rigorous recordation effort which could incorporate true scale drawings and rectify photography. Test excavation and possible selective sampling and excavation of trash deposits and privy vaults should be completed. The approach to this site should be multifaceted and should involve all basic avenues of data retrieval so that the site is fully recorded before adverse impacts occur.

- 5MT4577. The Lucero Place (Fig. 3) is located in a tract which was patented in 1889 by Mary Simon under the Land Act of 1820. The site is currently the residence of a group of young adults who appear to live communally without modern sanitation, improved water or electricity. The site consists of a good log house (Fig. 13) with frame addition, a large root cellar, privy and various small outbuildings. The site was owned and seasonally farmed by a blind Hispanic-American named Tony Lucero who states that it was basically a small scale family subsistence operation for the past few decades.

- Eligibility. The Lucero Place may be eligible for the National Register under Criteria Numbers 3 and 4. The good log architecture of the residence structure appears to reflect the primitive pioneer log style which is believed to be characteristic of the Rocky Mountain Region. It thus appears to embody the distinctive characteristics of a type/method of construction from the first phase of homesteading in southwestern Colorado. The same may be true for the semi-subterranean log root cellar which is also on the site.

The site may also be eligible for the National Register due to its capability to yield data useful in historical archaeological studies. This would most likely be in helping to document the material culture pattern of subsistence homesteads through a long time span, namely ca. 1880s into the 1930s or 1940s.

Recommendation. It is recommended that both oral and archival historical research be conducted in order to gain baseline data and help further access the full archaeological potentials of the site. The site should be formally mapped and a general photo and drawing record should be obtained for all buildings. The log house should receive a detailed architectural recording including scale drawings and perhaps rectify photographs. If possible, domestic middens and early privy vaults should be excavated.

- 5MT4568. The Jackson Place (Fig. 14) is located in a tract patented in 1890 by Griffith Dickensen under the Land Act of 1820. The site is no longer occupied and all the buildings have been razed. There are two homesteading components which are spatially separate. The first dates from the 1880s to about 1910, according to local informants. The second component is believed to date from about 1910 to the 1940s or thereabouts. Each component evidences a house site and it is suspected that associated features such as domestic middens and privy vaults are associated with each. The site is currently in heavy weeds and such features are not visible.

- Eligibility. This site may be eligible for the National Register under Criterion Number 4 since it should be capable of yielding information important to regional historical archaeological studies, namely isolating the cultural patterns associated with homesteading in the region. At this time, it has not been possible to fully access the site because of heavy ground cover and a lack of historical data about it. We simply need more information on this site.

Recommendation. In order to make a determination on National Register eligibility it is recommended that limited oral and archival research be conducted and that the site be cleared of weeds and formally mapped and surface-collected. If the site then appears to be eligible for the Register, domestic middens and privy vaults should be excavated so that both components of the site are clearly documented.

- 5MT4569. This anonymous homestead is located in a tract which was patented in 1890 by Leon Eggers under the Homestead Act of 1862.

A simple concrete block house has been constructed on the site in recent years and the site is badly grown over with weeds and brush. It also has a heavy clutter of contemporary trash on it. There are no early features evident and it is strongly suspected that any historical features would be difficult to locate and cleanly extract from the late materials on the site.

- Eligibility. It is doubtful if this site could contribute any useful data on homesteading without going to great trouble and expense.

Recommendation. No further action is recommended at this site unless further information comes to light.

Second Period Homesteads from About 1900: Only two sites from the Second Homesteading Period were located by the 1978 survey effort. As shown in Table 3, these were 5MT4562 and 5MT4564.

- 5MT4562. The Cistern Homestead (Fig. 15) is located in a tract which was patented in 1906 by William Bruce under the Homestead Act of 1862. This site is an extremely good example of a homestead from the Second Period. It is a single component site spanning a period from ca. 1900 to the 1930s. There are no indications for occupation at this site beyond World War II and it is very strongly suspected that the site was abandoned during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The site has a good two-story log residence with a frame addition along with a cistern, domestic midden, and other features. The site has seemingly not been used for anything since it was abandoned and its features are subsequently in very good condition.

- Eligibility. The Cistern Homestead is one of the best preserved homestead sites inventoried in the Dolores Project area during the 1978 field season. It is strongly recommended that it may be eligible for the National Register under Criteria Nubmers 3 and 4. As a total artifact, the log architecture, archaeological deposits, and site plan and activity areas embody the distinctive characteristics of the homesteading tradition in western Colorado, and specifically of the Second Period Homesteads in the Dolores Project vicinity. The site is also a valuable archaeological manifestation which promises to contribute important information to the historical archaeology of the homesteading tradition and how it reacted to economic and environmental stresses in the area.

- Recommendation. This site offers a chance to produce an in-depth case study of early twentieth century homesteading in the Dolores Project area and deserves a very detailed mitigation effort. It is recommended that the Cistern Homestead be subjected to a rigorous oral and documentary historical study prior to initiation of fieldwork since such research should serve to guide the excavations. The site should be formally mapped and the architecture recorded by scale drawings and rectify photographs. The cistern and all privy vaults should be totally excavated and the various midden areas need to be excavated on a high random sample basis. Extensive exploratory

trenching needs to be accomplished in order to delimit various activity and special use areas or structures. Attempts to confirm construction dates of the building and construction methods and sequences should be completed at the residence via architectural archaeology study.

- 5MT4564. The Auto Homestead is located in a tract patented in 1906 by Ezra L. Davis under the Homestead Act of 1862. When compared with 5MT4562, this site is not nearly as good an example of a Second Period site. The site evidences a subterranean root cellar, domestic midden, a frame house site, and sites of other buildings and activity areas which have not yet been individually delimited and mapped. The site seems to be single-component and probably spans a period from ca. 1900 to 1906. The site does not appear to contain substantive sub-surface remains but is a reasonable example of a Second Period site that is uncluttered by post-World War II occupational debris.

- Eligibility. This site is, by itself, probably not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places due to the sparsity of remains. As a part of a larger sample it is, however, capable of yielding important information in the historical archaeological study of homesteading in western Colorado, particularly as such studies currently focus on artifact patterning, and regional adaptational mechanisms in architecture. The site is deserving of at least some mitigation efforts in keeping with the philosophy of an historic district.

- Recommendations. It is recommended that both oral and documentary oral historical research be undertaken to more fully document the site. The ground surface should be cleared so that features and activity areas can be delineated and mapped. A controlled surface collection needs to be made and the domestic midden area excavated via a random sample. The privy vault and possibly other features should be excavated.

Third Period Homesteads from About 1920: Two sites dating from the Third Homesteading Period were located by the 1978 survey effort. These were 5MT4560 and 5MT4561 (Table 3).

- 5MT4560. The Skunk Site is located in a tract which was patented in 1919 by Carroll E. Teeter under the Homestead Act of 1862. The site is believed to be single-component, spanning the years from ca. 1912 to the 1950s or thereabouts. The site consists of a house foundation of stone and several miscellaneous outbuildings with a domestic midden and water system. The architecture on the site has been completely razed and the site is overgrown with vegetation. No oral or documentary historical research has been conducted except for land patent analysis.

- Eligibility. By itself, the Skunk Site is probably not eligible for the National Register. The site does, however, offer useful information in the study of homesteading when considered from the perspective of an historic district.

- Recommendation. As a reasonably good example of a Third Period site, the Skunk Site is important enough that it should receive some minimal mitigation efforts. Both oral and documentary historical research should be conducted. It is also recommended that the general surface be cleared of weeds and feature and activity areas mapped. Controlled surface collection should be made, the domestic midden should be sampled, and the privy vaults completely excavated.

- 5MT4561. The Storage Shed is located in a tract which was patented in 1939 by Willis E. Hamilton under the Homestead Act of 1862. The site was apparently occupied until the 1960s or early 1970s. The site consists of a house site and concrete-capped well and possible privy vault. A shed, measuring 18 ft x 19 ft, is located in a nearby field, and presumably related to the domestic occupation of the site between about 1932 and the late 1960s. The house site is overgrown with weeds and small trees and is surrounded by bean fields. There are no other buildings or features and only limited midden deposits. The site has an obvious prehistoic component.

- Eligibility. The Storage Shed Site is probably not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places due to its condition and lack of archaeological features of materials which would seemingly prevent it from contributing to historical archaeological studies of homesteading under Criteria Number 4.

- Recommendation. No further action is recommended at this site.

Fourth Period Homesteading from About 1945: Only one site dating from the Fourth Homesteading Period was discovered in the 1978 survey effort. This was 5MT4677 (Figs. 10, 16).

- 5MT4677. The Tractor Site was patented in 1960 by Summer T. Bengs under the BLM Act of 1948. The site is a short-term domestic occupation probably associated with bean farming. Although now unoccupied, the site was occupied until recent years and even though it is of recent date, is an excellent representative of the Fourth and last period of homesteading in the region. The site (Fig. 6) consists of a one-room frame and tar-paper residence measuring 28 ft x 10 ft, a two-seater frame privy, domestic midden and yard features and several pieces of farm machinery. The site is in an excellent state of preservation.

- Eligibility. When this site was originally inventoried, it was not believed to be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places because of its late date. Since that time, the entire question of site significance and National Register Eligibility of the historic sites in the Dolores Project area has been reconsidered in light of regional research designs and the Historic District concept. This writer's recommendation has changed in regard to this site. The Tractor Site may be eligible for the National Register under Criteria Numbers 3 and 4 through provision of Article G of "Criteria Considerations" (U.S. Park Service 1975). This article states that a

property less than 50 years old may be considered eligible "if it is of exceptional importance." This recommendation has been made only after a great deal of thought and the realization that this is a rare and late site that is in an excellent state of preservation. It is subsequently of exceptional importance to meaningful historical archaeological studies of homesteading in southwestern Colorado, since it is believed representative of the last period of homesteading as provided for under Criterion Number 4. It is, furthermore, believed to embody the "distinctive characteristics of a type" of homestead and a period of American history. Although it lacks individual distinction as a distinguishable entity, it is representative of a major American tradition, namely that of homesteading and the "taking up" of free American land. This site is very important in the study of homesteading in western Colorado even though it is late and simple in appearance.

- Recommendation. It is recommended that oral and archival historical research be completed. Detailed photo coverage and mapping and recording of the basic features should be undertaken. Controlled surface collection and sampling of the midden should be completed. This should result in comprehensive documentation of this site, with only a minimum of expense.

Other Sites Associated with the Homesteading Movement: Three additional sites which are in some way associated with the homesteading tradition were discovered in the 1978 season. These were 5MT4563, 5MT4570, and 5MT4572. Respectively, these are a recent sheep camp, a small foot bridge, and the small townsite of Big Bend (the original Dolores).

- 5MT4563 is a Sheep Camp which consists of a herder's wagon, sheep pens, camping equipment and midden. The camp has been used in the past few years. The camp was apparently established in recent years while working with the sheep in the nearby pens. This is a temporary camp that has left little in the way of an archaeological record.

- Eligibility. This site is not believed to be eligible for the National Register under any criterion.

- Recommendation. Other than basic photo coverage as part of inventory efforts, no further action is believed to be warranted.

- 5MT4570. This is a small suspension footbridge leading from the road in the Dolores Canyon across the river to the Lucero Place, 5MT4567. The feature consists of cables covered with planks stretching from bank to bank and supported in the center by a concrete piling. On the basis of the concrete in it, it is suspected that the bridge was constructed in the 1920s, or thereabouts.

- Eligibility. This feature is interesting but not overly important as an architectural feature. It is probably not eligible for the National Register but should receive basic recording.

- Recommendation. It is recommended that the footbridge be photographed in detail and drawn to general, not detailed, scale.

- 5MT4572. The Big Bend townsite (ca. 1877 or 1878 to 1892) has only been partially surveyed. It has been researched historically by Duane Smith as discussed earlier in this report. The site is a major historic site in the Dolores Project area but will be more fully evaluated in 1979 (Fig. 5).

Urban/Industrial Sites: Only one truly urban or industrial site was located in the 1978 field effort. This was the site (5MT4571) of the town and lumber mill of McPhee (ca. 1924 to 1948) which was owned and operated by the New Mexico Lumber Company. The site is a large one and has only been partially surveyed. It has been partially researched historically by Duane Smith as discussed in an earlier section of this report. As an example of a twentieth century company town, McPhee poses numerous important and academic contribution potentials in historical archaeology studies. McPhee will be more fully surveyed and evaluated in 1979 (Figs. 3,6).

PART VI
SUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS ON MITIGATION STRATEGIES, NATIONAL REGISTER ELIGIBILITY, AND BASELINE RESEARCH NEEDS

General Discussion

As indicated earlier, the historic resource base thus far inventoried in the Dolores Project area primarily relates to the homesteading tradition. This resource base will undoubtedly be expanded during future survey efforts and should become a particularly powerful data base for the study of homesteading in a marginal agricultural environment of western Colorado. For this reason, it is recommended that the Anasazi Archaeological District be amended to include historical Euro-American resources as well as aboriginal ones. As previously discussed, there are particular advantages for cultural resource management and scientific inquiry in such an approach.

There are different historical patterns in homesteading as this writer has introduced earlier in this report (Fig. 9). The Dolores Project has sites from all these homesteading periods and they can be investigated and used to contribute in several ways. Of particular advantage is the fact that many of these are single component sites that, by being abandoned, escaped cluttering from miscellaneous occupations. Major goals include documenting examples of this region's homesteads at these periods in time and entering the information into the quantitative data bank.

The association of the various homestead sites in the project area are shown in relation to the four periods in the regional variant of the Homesteading Tradition in Table 4.

In Table 5, mitigation recommendations have been summarized via a combination of Goals/Problem Orientations and the recommended data retrieval method which should be employed to meet them. It must be emphasized that the recommendations are specifically designed to meet the original research design outlined to the University of Colorado and Bureau of Reclamation (Baker 1978d). In nearly all cases, the emphasis is put on obtaining a broad comprehensive data base instead of upon greatly detailed examination of a few sites. Each site was judged against the research design, then evaluated in terms of its potential information content and the degree to which that informaton could be retrieved in a cost efficient manner. Thus, in some cases, the informational content was not believed to be enough to justify any research. In other cases, such as with 5MT4562, the information content is thought to warrant extensive excavation.

As previously discussed, the only apparent means of liberating the varying contribution potentials of these sites is through differential levels of investigation. In order to accommodate such varying levels of investigation within the formal legal and funding constraints of National Register eligibility, it seems necessary to expand the description of the Anasazi Archaeological district to include historical Euro-American sites. Unless the District description is expanded to accommodate historical resources, it will probably not be possible to meaningfully address the historic resource base via any research approach at all similar to that outlined herein. The opposite alternative of perhaps intensively investigating only those few sites which individually may be eligible will probably spell disaster to any historic studies program that hopes to contribute within a modern and professional historical archeological framework. Unless as comprehensive a sample as possible is obtained, the results of investigation will most likely emerge as phenomenological studies, or worse yet, sentimental and sophisticated antiquarianism such as this writer has emphatically warned gainst (Baker 1978e). All or most of the historic sites in the project area should provide basic data on patterns of homesteading in the Dolores Project area from ca. 1880 to 1960. Consideration of only a few individual sites will not provide such data and may well provide aberrant data. The goal is to seek patterning and this must be done quantitatively.

The mitigation strategies summarized in Table 5 are in most cases reltively inexpensive in terms of what historical archaeology can cost. In fact, the very conservative mitigation proposal submitted by this writer for all the historic sites in the first year study areas asked for only $60,000 for fieldwork and reporting, plus about $10,000 from the 1978 budget to continue site specific and baseline historical research in conjunction with the field mitigation effort. It was anticipated that some field labor would have been contributed by the University's archeological field school. This work would have fully covered approximately 50 percent of the reservoir construction impact areas and would not lead to an unwieldy precedent or obligation to historic resources in the overall project area. This is because the river valley apparently was the locale of the most dense Euro-American occupation in the total project area. Outside of the immediate reservoir area, the historic resource base will be much smaller.

Historical Research Needs

Baseline research needs primarily relate to both documentary and oral historical studies in the overall project area. Such studies are absolutely necessary if a meaningful and comprehensive professional study is to result from the efforts on the Dolores Project. Both authors feel that they have only scratched the surface in terms of historical studies which are oriented towards cultural resource

management efforts. It is not believed to be necessary to write an overall history of Southwestern Colorado. It is, however, felt that Smith's report, "With Cheerful Hopes for the Future" can serve as a basic introductory contextual overview. It does need to be "fleshed out" and incorporate interviews with local residents and selected original documentary research. In particular, the history of homesteading in the project area needs to be approached in depth as Baker had expected to do. Ths historic cultural resources are mostly homesteads, and homesteading must be understood if the resources are to be evalauted and appropriately managed. Without doing this, resource evaluation efforts will be as bad as evaluation of prehistoric resources would be if the researcher did not know the details of the local prehistoric tradition to the fullest extent possible. It is, therefore, strongly recommended that a detailed oral and documentary historical study of homesteading be undertaken. This should begin with quantified land patent analysis for the entire project area such as Baker has started. A good basic study of water, land, and agriculture should be coupled to this and a final synthesis of these details and Smith's general contextual studies should be prepared. Such an effort need not be expensive and would be a very valuable contribution from the Dolores Project. It would also serve in evaluation of most all of the historical resources which will, in the future, be encountered during the course of the Project.

No further studies of Big Bend, the Beaver Creek Massacre, or the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition should be undertaken since the historical record for these has been exhausted by Smith. Researchers should be alert to the fact that further and important data may "turn up" for Big Bend but a specific research effort is unjustified. McPhee needs an intensive oral history project if further work on the town is undertaken. The documentary sources have largely been exhausted, particularly since the company records cannot be located. McPhee may well be eligible for the National Register and a very solid study could be undertaken and should focus on oral history, limited historical archaeology, and Smith's work in the documentary sources.

Once these various historical tasks are completed, the only historical research which will be justified will be site specific research efforts, such as for individual homesteads. The only source materials will probably be tax and other public records and local oral history. Such research must be done ahead of excavation work and should not be a big or complicated task. In fact, it should be simple and inexpensive, but it must be done, and done prior to commencing excavation to be professional and efficient in its contribution.

A Final Statement

It is strongly recommended that the description of the Anasazi Archaeological District (Madden 1977) be amended to include historical resources. It is recommended that a research and mitigation program at least similar to the present one be undertaken by a qualified professional historical archaeologist. Such a program can be adjusted within reasonable limits of funds available to the Bureau of Reclamation. Unless the originally proposed research design (Baker 1978d) is generally adhered to, a new research design will need to be prepared as a replacement for it.

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